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POLYPHEMUS.

BY ALFRED AUSTIN.

The Cyclops, Polyphemus, son of Neptune and Thoösa, dwelt alone in a cavern on the slopes of Mount Etna, and passionately loved the nymph Galatea. But she loved, and was loved by, the beautiful shepherd boy, Acis, and sported with him on the mountain and in the sea. Polyphemus, in a transport of ungovernable jealousy, sought to destroy both by hurling on them a rock torn from the flanks of Etna. But the gods interposed, and changed Galatea into a mermaid, and Acis into a hillside stream, so that the twain might never be separated.

POLYPHEMUS.

"Where lurk they now? Either in some green grot,
With cool, moist mosses overhung, that drink
From slowly-welling, never-waning wave
The freshness of their sustenance; or hid
In the snug hollow of some rounded bole,
Chestnut or pine, whose heart corroding time
Hath pared away, leaving the knotted rind
For shelter against sunshine, wind or rain,
The weather's wantonness; or, haply, couched
Under the veil of newly-wedded vine,
And, like its lissome tendrils, interlaced
The one within the other, palm with palm,
And fingers feeling fondly round the throat

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And underneath the tresses, smooth-skinned pair,
Whom unforeseeing heedlessness of love
And insolicitude of youth enthral
To one vague purpose by themselves unguessed,
Still pasturing on the flowery sweets of life.
I neither see them on the hill, nor yet
Down in the vale, nor on the dimpled beach,
Nor sporting with the dolphins in the wave:
Though this one orb crafty Ulysses seared,
By Neptune's healing potency restored,
From mainland unto mainland wandereth wide,
Scanning each dip and dingle of the isle
And every ridge and roller of the sea.
Well, better thus! Did I behold them now,
In noonday heat, their ruddy lips as close
As cherry unto cherry on one stem,
Their eyes one long, unseparating gaze,
Not all the snows on Etna would allay
The fever of my longing."

GALATEA.

"Follow me, Acis, follow me, follow,
Over the hillock and down by the hollow!
Follow me, follow, where musk-rose and myrtle
Entangle my tresses and catch in my kirtle;
Onward where cistus and cyclamen mingle,
And hemlock and asphodel gleam in the dingle,
Down to the dip where the brook bends and babbles,
The water-hen nests, and her callow brood dabbles;
Under the labyrinth hazelnut cover,
Follow me, follow, my light-footed lover!
Thence to the open where sunlight is sweeter,
And there we will prove which is lither and fleeter;
Past the bruised rosemary look for and find me;
Track me and trace by the fragrance behind me.
See! I am breathless; so hither, and hold me,
And close to your tenderness fondle and fold me.
This is the oldest and sweetest of blisses,
To be followed, and caught, and pay forfeit of kisses;
So follow me, follow!"

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POLYPHEMUS.

"The shadows on the silent hillside stretch
Longer and darker, and more sharp and clear
The smokeless cone of Etna cleaves the air,
And soon from snowy breast to brow will flush
Pink as the rose in Galatea's cheek.
I must go gather up my goats, and press
The stream from out the heavy-uddered ewes
Loud-bleating for relief. A bubbling bowl
Of vesper milk would cozen any maid,
Any but Galatea, to my side,
While I, myself imperious Neptune's son,
To her recounted legendary tales
Of demigod and nymph when Love was young.
Ah! Love is always young, and I am old;
And any beardless stripling casts a spell
Of fresh enchantment round the nubile heart
That I, with all my cunning, cannot weave.
To be so wise, withal so little loved!
We blossom for ourselves, we fruit for others!
Nothing avails my knowledge, nor the years
Of intercourse with those elusive powers
That underlie the semblances we see,
Whereby I somewhat to the heart have pierced
Of Nature and Necessity, and wrung
Toll of their secrets. What is left me else,
Weary of insurrection 'gainst the gods,
The far-off, calm, invulnerable gods,
Sailing supine on thunder-sheeted clouds
And canopied by the unpropped dome of Heaven?
Could I to one high purpose fix my mind,
And, when my flock were browsing 'mong the crags,
Or folded for the night, forget my youth
And those desires, the dregs of bygone joy,
That youth, no longer sparkling, leaves to age,
The stars my sole companions and the herbs
Culled in the secret places, and pursue
With passionless resolve the steadfast search,
In planet and in simple, for the key

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Of the world's central government, and store
In deathless verse for famishing mankind
The harvest of my reaping, I might then
Bless silent, slow, unsympathizing Time
That on my brow accumulates the years
To crown them with tranquillity. But now,
I have all the snows of Etna on my head,
And all its panting furnace in my heart.
Where are they now? Did I but penetrate
To the recesses of their amorous bliss,
I, with one blast from this volcanic breast,
Should strew their fondlings on the blackened coils
Of lava down the hillside."

ACIS.

"Wake, Galatea, now wake from your dreaming!
On beach and on breaker the moonlight is streaming.
Down in the lucent tide mermaids are singing,
And the seaweed above them is swaying and swinging!
Melody rises and rolls through the shingle,
Where sweet wave and salt wave have meeting and mingle.
Sweetest one, fleetest one, fleetest and fairest,
Come where the black rocks are bleakest and barest,
But curve for your coming 'twixt billow and billow
The softest of couches, with foam-fringe for pillow!
Through the wave, 'neath the wave, over and over,
Dive where the coral gleams pink as the clover
I gathered and gave you from Proserpine's garden,
When Love had displeased you, and prayed you for pardon.
Wake from your dreaming and haste to the haven,
Where smoothly with gold sand the sea-floor is paven.
Loosen your girdle, and lengthen your tresses,
And glide through the water that curls and caresses.
Float we and flow we, but moved by its motion,
Till we and the moonlight are one with the ocean.
Wake, Galatea!"

POLYPHEMUS.

"Now is the hour when most I feel how lone
It is to be a bastard of the gods,
Not wholly human, yet not quite divine,

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Celestially fathered, yet shut out
From the serene of Heaven! While I range
The pathless labyrinth of forest pines,
Laden with logwood for my cavern hearth;
Climb the rough crags betwixt whose smooth, green flanks
The adventurous goats browse wayward; or descend,
Driving them home before my voice; or rive
Time-toughened oaks for virgin honeycomb,
Dripping with golden sweetness; or with care
Curdle the autumn milk in shelving bowls
For winter sustenance; then I forget
The god within me, and on task intent
That needs but mortal energy I live,
Human at every pore, a man—no more.
But now my flock are folded safe within,
And in the snow-cold larder of my cave
Is store for morrow's nourishment; and lo!
Up from the wave rolleth the rounded moon,
To wend her silent, uncompanioned way
Monotonous through Heaven; and with her mounts
The Olympian ichor in my veins, to wake
Ancestral longings. Nymphs as fair as she
Whom strenuous Neptune forcibly bewitched
To be my mother, willingly to me
In adolescent days subdued their hearts
And sported with my strength, for I could bear,
Aye, and could carry still, their flimsy forms
Straight up the lava-loops, and let them gaze
Into the jaws of Etna! That sleek pair,
Who flout me with their fondlings, I could ride
One upon either shoulder, round and round
The various isle, plain, pasture, promontory,
Orchard, and sun-burnt bluff, or thuswise wade
Through torrents raging with the melted snow
From nor'ward rampart ranges. But they love
Only to toy and trifle in the vale.
Heaven is too lofty for their dwarf desires,
And I too vast for puny purposes."

ACIS.

"Are you there, Galatea?"

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GALATEA.

"Yes, here in the moonlight,
Where the wave is as bright as the beach in the noonlight."

ACIS.

"You are brighter than either. I cannot descry you
From radiant ripple, until I come nigh you.
I lose you, I find you, again you grow dimmer,
Till round me seems nothing but shadow and shimmer.
'Tis your golden-rayed ringlets that baffle and blind me."

GALATEA.

"Float unto my voice, dear, and there you will find me.
Here, lock we our hands, love, and float we together,
Or cling, if you will, to my tresses for tether.
We are one upon land, be we one on the breaker!"

ACIS.

"Who found Galatea could never forsake her."

GALATEA.

"Dear Acis, my Acis! Now wed we our voices,
And sing with the surge as it roams and rejoices.
There are moonbeams below us, and moonbeams above us,
And the stars in the heavens look down on and love us."

ACIS.

"O fair Galatea!"

GALATEA.

"My fond, faithful Acis!"

POLYPHEMUS.

"Hark! 'Twas her voice, upsoaring from the sea!
The twain are riding on the moonlit foam,
As is their wont when rolls the rising moon
A radiant roadway right athwart the wave,
For fatuous fancy's forward-running feet
To journey to the goal of its desires.

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See, there they float enamoured, hand in hand,
Rising and falling with the heaving tide
As it subsides or surges. Save her voice
Guided my vision, I had now not felt
The torture of their transports, nor discerned
Which is her billowy beauty, which the wave.
Now, by the mighty and majestic gods,
And that wide-weltering if lesser god,
My sea-subduing father, why should I,
Who have the thunders at my beck, and forge
In my fuliginous smithy bolts for Jove,
Live mocked to moaning by that puny pair,
When I from Etna's bulging flanks could wrench—
As, by my pangs unbearable, will I now!—
This many-rooted rock, and straightway heave
Destruction on their dallying."

ACIS.

"O, where's Galatea?"

GALATEA.

"Deep down in the wave,
Where the love-loving gods have submerged me, to save.
I am one with the mermaidens, one with the main,
Shall no more be your playmate on pasture and plain;
The flower-fields of Enna will see me no more,
I may float to the seaweed, but not to the shore.
Come there to me, Acis! I never can be
Immortal, save, dearest, immortal with *thee!*"

ACIS.

"I am here on the hillside, in hidden ravine,
Where the mosses are moist and the maidenhair green.
I am suckled by snow-bosoms warmed by the sun,
Through the reeds and the rushes I ripple and run.
I, too, am immortal, I never can fail;
If my source is the summit, my bourne is the vale.
I am coming, am coming, on hastening feet,
That the sweet wave and salt wave may mingle and meet;
To your mermaiden-music hill-music will bring

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From the full founts of summer and freshets of spring.
We together shall glide, we together shall gleam,
For you are my Siren, and I am your Stream;
From your fondness my fondness no hatred can sever,
I shall lap you, and lave you, and love you for ever,
Beloved Galatea!"

ALFRED AUSTIN.

Written at Aci Reale, Sicily, December, 1898.

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THE BURDEN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

BY SIR WALTER BESANT.

WHEN the nineteenth century reached its appointed end, the bells rang out in joyous peal, as for the accession of a new sovereign. They rang for the boys and the young men. For those whom the new-comer found grey-bearded and stricken with years, the bells were as the rolling of muffled drums; for them the bells proclaimed a funeral, rather than a coronation. Their youth and lustihood belong to the century that has just gone; well for them if their work does not also belong to the years that are past!

As I write this paper I find myself, naturally, speaking from an English point of view. In many ways, American readers will contrast their own institutions with ours. They will perceive that we have been steadily, yet often unconsciously, drifting more and more toward their ways and their views. I shall abstain from commenting on things distinctively American, because they are American and not English. Most of the "burden" of which I speak is our own, but the most important part of it—that which concerns the whole of humanity—is, above all, American.

The burden of the nineteenth century, so far as England is concerned, may be summed up in two clauses:

(1.) It had to get rid of its predecessor;

(2.) It had to prepare the way for its successor.

That is to say, it inherited a mass of ideas, prejudices, practices, inequalities, evils of every kind, which had, somehow, before anything new could be attempted, to be unloaded and shovelled into the dust bin. It had, next, to prepare for its successor by founding and beginning many new things: by the extension of education; by the developments of science; by the preaching and teaching of wider views as to civil rights and responsibilities; by the application to philanthropy of methods formed upon a study

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of human laws and tendencies, and by many other ways of which it was itself, perhaps, unconscious.

The separation from the eighteenth century was not, with us, complete, because we retained the forms of the old aristocracy, while we swept away its powers; and we kept the name of an Established Church, while we abolished its exclusive privileges. Yet the separation has been so great as to amount to a revolution more drastic even than that of the sixteenth century. And, as for the work of preparation for the present century, it was accompanied by an intellectual activity which has done even more for science than the Renaissance did for literature.

I desire, here, to show briefly how the breaking away from the eighteenth century was necessary before the practical application of the new ideas was possible; and how, when this had been partially accomplished, the achievements, the developments, the inventions, the discoveries and the research which followed have all been contributions to, and preparations for, the heritage of work which we are now handing on to our successors of the twentieth century.

Let us consider the work of destruction and the work of preparation as they went on, side by side, in a few of the main lines.

First, in the line of religion.

What we found, when the nineteenth century succeeded to the eighteenth, as the dominant religion, whether in the Church or among the Nonconformists, was a fiery, fierce and aggressive Calvinism. There are many still living who can remember the despair, the hopeless misery, of millions, due to the continued discussions and sermons on Free Will, Election and Predestination. I can myself recall the solemn voice of the preacher who warned us, almost every Sunday—remember that he firmly believed what he said—that but very few of his congregation had the least chance of being saved; that, from eternity, and before the world was made, nearly all of us were predestined to everlasting torture. Well, we have silenced these speculations; men of learning, men of science, men of culture, refuse any longer to discuss questions as unfathomable as that of the beginning and the end of space. This abandonment of Calvinism is part of our destructive work in religion.

That of construction, or of preparation, has not been so happy.

It was, perhaps, inevitable that, with the decay of the Cal-

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vinistic school, and with the adoption of a more humane creed, there should be revived the old controversy of Man *versus* Priest.

The Church of England is now entering anew upon an acute form of that controversy—so acute that, if it is followed up, the Church will undoubtedly be rent in twain and the National Church will cease to exist. There are already within its divided fold two well formed camps: the one containing those who want no priest and will acknowledge no priestly pretensions; the other, those who find rest in the shelter of authority, accepting, as the price to be paid, the domination of the priest over their lives, their thoughts, their reason, their sense, and their philosophy. Before Disestablishment actually takes place, there will be mountains of literature to be read; there will be a flood of talk. But the most effective arguments will be those which show how, in the United States, not to speak of our great Colonies, religion takes no harm where there is no Established Church. Some of us will regret the loss of an institution venerable and beautiful; glorious for the saints and divines, the martyrs and confessors, the scholars and teachers who have adorned its history. But we shall let it go in full confidence that, as in America, so here, religion does not need a National Creed.

But the way for such a settlement of a quarrel, never to be adjusted while the disputants live under the same roof, had to be prepared, and it has taken us a hundred years of work, mostly unconscious work, in that direction. First, the claims of the sacerdotal party were advanced, formulated, defended, and, as far as possible, made popular. This was done with great craft and subtlety. Its advocates enlisted on their side the growing desire for art in everything: beauty in buildings; beauty in ritual; beauty in decoration; beauty in dress. The priestly pretensions were concealed behind the attraction of services which no longer offended the artistic and æsthetic sense.

On the other hand, the old intolerance, which drove the Nonconformist out of society, had to be wholly swept away. This, if you think of it, was part of the necessary preparation for the schism of the immediate future. Formerly, a Nonconformist could not enter the House of Commons; nor could he hold any municipal office; nor could he accept a commission in the Army or in the Navy; nor could he take a degree at Oxford or Cambridge; nor could he become a barrister; nor could he be married or buried,

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except according to the rites of the Church of England. All this is now changed; every restriction has been removed; the former social inferiority of the Dissenter is vanishing, and things are nearly, if not quite, ready for the great measure of Disestablishment which is part of the Burden of the Twentieth Century.

Let us next turn to the Government. Here, indeed, not the pruning knife, but the axe, had to be applied. The eighteenth century bequeathed us government by an oligarchy. A small caste ruled the country. The very stronghold of liberty, the Folk Mote, the House of Commons, had been transformed into a stronghold of caste. The ruling party consisted of a few hundred families; there were hardly enough of them for the division of the spoils. They had seized and held for themselves all the power and all the places; they were Ministers and Secretaries of State; they ruled all the Departments; they commanded the army and the fleets; they commanded the regiments and the ships; all the posts of honor, all the distinctions, all the lucrative preferments were in the hands of the caste. The Ministry and the Opposition both belonged to the caste; the House of Commons was filled with younger sons of the caste; they sat on opposite sides, but they were agreed upon one point, viz.: that there should be no Reform of Parliament, and that the duty and privilege of carrying on the government belonged to themselves, by right divine.

It is, I believe, difficult to get an American, unless he is a student of history, to understand the conditions of government under which the nineteenth century began its work. It is equally difficult for him to understand the immense work of destruction and reconstruction that has been accomplished during the century. Both destruction and reconstruction have been carried through in the same direction. That is to say, every step has been a step forward toward the government of the people by the people. Thus the House of Commons now represents all people, including the caste itself, and every class, rank and degree of the people. There is, practically, universal suffrage in Great Britain; the Civil Service, the Army, and the Navy, are all thrown open to competition. We now see, not only the younger sons but also the peers themselves becoming candidates for election at County Councils, School Boards and Borough Councils; while the House of Lords, receiving every year new recruits from the middle class, has now become an assembly whose function is, practically, to take care

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that important measures shall not be passed until they are clearly proved to be the will of the people.

This represents a good body of work. How far is it incomplete? And what remains for the twentieth century by way of completion in this branch?

There are two tasks, at least, before the new century, in carrying on the work of construction.

First, it is not enough to give the people the machinery of government; they must also be instructed in the use of the machinery. In other words, it is not enough to place the representation of the country in the hands of the people; the people must also be taught the duty of exercising their rights.

It would be, in fact, far better for the people even to continue in the hands of a ruling caste, who were at least patriotic and who had clean hands, than to be in the power of needy adventurers and interested demagogues who rise to power on the apathy, the ignorance, and the neglect of electors. The duty of the citizen is a lesson the teaching of which must be seriously undertaken, and, once begun, must be never again allowed to slip out of sight.

The other task is the opening up of all the intellectual careers to lads who are capable, clever, and ambitious; though their poverty has hitherto been an insuperable bar to their advancement. Everything, it is true, is nominally open. Practically, however, to the poor British lad, there are but two lines of life possible, outside the craft to which he belongs: he may become a teacher in a Board school; or a reporter and a journalist. Before the entrance gate of every profession, whether that of barrister, solicitor, physician, surgeon, officer, architect, artist, clergyman, or teacher of the higher class, there stands a turnpike, and at the gate is the turnpike man, whose name is Rhadamanthus. He comes out scowling, and holds out an inexorable hand: "Pay me a thousand pounds; if you cannot, you shall not enter here."

How can this inflexible guardian be abolished? That, you see, is part of the work of our successors. They must find out the way. Perhaps they may be induced to look across the ocean. There they will see colleges whose fees are low; where the cost of living is small, whose degrees in themselves confer the right to practice any profession, the art and mystery of which they teach. We must, on the one hand, teach our lads the dignity and the worthiness of crafts, arts, and industries, but we must throw

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open the door to those lads who crave for the intellectual life and will be content with none other. We have already begun with ladders of scholarships, to lift such lads up to the level of the learned professions: but that is only a beginning.

The difficulty is one which belongs to the whole question of education. The nineteenth century inherited from its predecessor a baleful legacy in a general prejudice against education. It was thought highly dangerous to educate the people. This prejudice lingers yet in some quarters. We have so far got rid of it, however, that we enjoy at last a system of free national education, the right of every child. This is a great step; it sweeps away old ideas, as so much lumber; but it is only a step; it is a beginning. It opens a door to an empty hall: we have to furnish this hall. We have, in fact, to find out what national education should mean. For thirty years, we have been carrying on a succession of experiments, learning little or nothing from other countries, and paying small heed to their experience. I doubt if there is a single member of the London School Board who could pass an examination on the American system of national education, even though it is conceded, by all who have examined into it, to be better than our own. The history, however, of these experiments is a valuable asset in the heritage of our successors. They have still to invent, or to discover, a system of education broad enough, and elastic enough, to include not only the ambitious and clever lad, but also the children destined for crafts, industries, and arts of all kinds; one that will make them good citizens, not ignorant of their civic rights, and alive to their civic duties. At present, our School Boards, by means of classes in shorthand, classes in commercial law, classes in foreign languages, and in other things which do not belong to the crafts and arts, are doing their mischievous best to persuade the people that the life of a clerk, with its long hours, its drudgery, and its miserable pay, is better, more "respectable" and more dignified than the life of the engine-room and the workshop. No greater blunder was ever made in the history of National Education.

I come next to the important question of trades unions. Here, indeed, we have broken clean away from the eighteenth century; yet, still, we have as yet only made a beginning. It is, again, the opening of the door to empty chambers. "Covins," *i. e.*, combinations of craftsmen, were forbidden, and rigidly suppressed,

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for seven hundred years in the City of London. With great difficulty, and only by persistence, we have succeeded in removing the legal prohibitions, bit by bit. The crafts can now form unions as much as they please. So far, we have prepared the way. We hand over to the twentieth century the trades unions, whose right to exist has been firmly established by ourselves. We hand over very little more than that right. It is a mass of raw material for our successors to work upon. Hitherto, the unions have had but one object, the exaction of shorter hours and higher pay. This has been the first exercise of their rights. It is, of course, a natural beginning. Just as on the simple instinct of self-preservation has been erected the whole structure of human society, with all its arts, inventions and discoveries; so, resting on the simple desire of greater ease and comfort, the trades unions were first created and have been successfully established. They are now, perhaps, ready for the higher developments. These will include jealousy for the craft itself, for its worthiness and its dignity; special education in the craft; pensions and sick funds for the craft; the maintenance of civic responsibilities and duties; an ever careful watch over the material interests of the craft, the weekly wage, the production, foreign competition, the markets, the trade interests, as protected by legislation; and the provision of arbitration when the two sides, hitherto irreconcilable—Capital and Labor—disagree. A very noble piece of work for the twentieth century!

If we turn next to the daily manners and customs, it is wonderful to consider in how many ways we have broken clean away from the eighteenth century. For instance, there are the old habits of drinking. At a certain election dinner, about the year 1790, the company, several hundreds in number, sat down at five o'clock and continued sitting over their wine and punch the whole night through. At the great City dinners it was not, formerly, unusual for men to drink three, and sometimes six, bottles of port; on Sunday morning, when the good folks were on their way to church, they would have to pass dozens of men, dead drunk, laid out on the pavement to recover in the cold air. Nay, this excessive drinking was carried on well into the middle of the century. I myself can remember, as a common sight, the bottle nose; the nose decorated with red blossoms; the pendulous nose, caused by punch and port. I have been assured by a veteran

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officer that, when he joined his regiment in the thirties, he had to sit every evening for three hours after dinner, drinking port; and this at the age of sixteen! At Oxford and Cambridge, the resident Fellows used to sit over their port every evening for a couple of hours; the Colleges prided themselves on their port. A physician, who died in 1890 at the age of seventy-two, told me that, when he began to go into society, the dinners, which were simple, were finished by half past seven; that, after the dinner, the men sat over their port till eleven or so; that many of them drank their three bottles; that they then adjourned to the drawing-room, where they were offered hot brandy and water! He added that it was very rare for these topers to get past the age of fifty.

At all events, we have changed all this. At the clubs, or the restaurants, it is rare, indeed, to find any one drinking wine after dinner. In private houses, I think, no one does so; at dinner parties, the sitting after the ladies has become a mere form—a survival of the old custom: our ancestors will, no doubt, be grateful to us for introducing this moderation. It is, however, like all our work, incomplete: we have yet to teach the working man to combat his perpetual thirst, which is but a bad habit, not a disease. At present, he is ready at all times of the day for his "half pint." We have checked or destroyed drunkenness in our Navy; we have been unable, so far, to destroy it in the Army. In the lowest classes, in the city slums, drinking is still common among the women. There is a great deal to be done in this branch, even though much has already been done. Of late years, our own activity in the cause of temperance may compare favorably with the American endeavors in the same direction.

Drinking is only one of the customs we have improved. Remember that the eighteenth century gave us, as a part of our inheritance, a widespread custom of gambling. High and low, the people gambled: there were the hells for the aristocracy, where whole estates were lost in a single night; there were the smaller gaming tables, where the shopkeepers became bankrupt and the clerk played with stolen money. Every year there were lotteries, during which the whole nation went mad with the excitement of gambling. Where is that habit gone? There are now no hells, great or small. It is whispered that certain men gamble, but it is with closed doors; it is rumored that play is carried on here and

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there for high stakes, but there is no mention of estates changing hands in a single night. The "Hooligan" and the lads of the gutter are gamblers, the Polish Jews are gamblers; men "back their fancy" for a horse race; but gambling, as a national vice, has been scotched, if not killed.

Again, we inherited a callous habit of brutal sports. We were encouraged by our predecessors to bait bull and bear, to draw the badger, to maintain the cockpit, to encourage the prize-ring. We have suppressed, in the interests of posterity, most of these amusements. The desire for them, even the memory of them, has vanished. The other day, I made certain inquiries as to the form and internal arrangements of the cockpit. I can hear of only two specimens surviving, and these are imperfect. Yet, a hundred years ago, there was not a village without its cockpit. Here, again, our work is good from a destructive point of view, but it is incomplete. We have swept away, with sports that were brutal, sports that were manly. It will be a part of the work of our successors to revive and to restore the latter. They will institute, in every town, physical education, under the guise of sport; the gymnasium, foot-racing, wrestling, athletics, even single-stick practice and boxing, will be restored to our lads, as part of the national training.

Again, we found our prisons hot-beds of infectious fever; in these horrible places, besides the criminals, there were languishing debtors, sometimes for a few shillings, locked up for life, doomed to semi-starvation. Every evil that one can imagine flourished in these abodes of despair. We have now cleansed our prisons; gaol fever is no more known; we have put an end to the more flagrant evils of the past. Next, we have tried our hands at prison discipline and prison reform. Our experiments in this branch of work have proved a series of horrible failures. There is no country in the world where the prison system is so hard, so cruel, so terrible, as our own; it is an ironclad system, which takes his manhood, his self-respect, his power of will, out of the wretch who serves his sentence. It leaves him pitifully submissive, slavishly docile. To watch this poor caitiff, on the day when he returns to the world, is to bring tears of pity and of shame to the eyes. We hand over this gigantic failure to our successors. "Do better," we say—"you cannot do worse—for the poor prisoners. While you make their punishment sharp and real, leave them their manhood and

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the power of recovery. Not too much degradation, not too much —oh! my brothers!—for these poor backsliders!"

In the nature of communications, internal and oceanic, we may at least congratulate ourselves.

We inherited a fine system of high roads, a well appointed service of stage coaches, a good postal service, and a magnificent fleet of sailing vessels. We also inherited a population mainly rural, and practically tied to the soil. The people of one town saw nothing of any other town; foreign travel was unknown; the insular ignorance of our people, as regards foreign nations, was colossal. We have now introduced new methods of communication; we travel rapidly and cheaply; we travel all over our country, and all over the world. All classes travel. Parties of working-men are made up for the Continent. Board-school teachers are carried to Florence for a fortnight's study of art. The suburban shopman is met in Switzerland. The clerk runs all over the country in his three weeks' holiday. We can get across the Atlantic in a week: we can get all round the world in two months. If increased rapidity of communication is an advance in civilization we have truly advanced. Well, rapidity of communication should certainly be an instrument of advance. Yet our work is, after all, one of preparation. We have discovered a new force with which we have already done great things; we talk to each other across thousands of miles by means of it, we light our cities and our houses with it, we drive engines with it; we have only, so far, begun to understand its possibilities. It is for our successors to make this force a servant of humanity far more useful, far more obedient, far more intelligent than steam.

What will our successors do with this force? If one may be allowed to prophesy, I would point to our ships. We have increased their speed from six or eight knots an hour to five and twenty, or even thirty. Is there no simpler machinery than the steam-driven screw and the paddle? Perhaps. Consider the action of a duck: she flies over the water; she does not plough through it; she presents a smooth round breast, and she beats the surface rapidly with her strong pinions. The ship of the future will be shallow and round in build, like the duck; she will be provided with a row of wing-like propellers; she will not plough the waters, but will skim them with her electric wings, and her speed will be, not thirty knots, but a hundred and fifty; and it

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will take no longer to get from Liverpool to New York than it now takes to get from London to Marseilles.

As regards law and its administration, we inherited a fine old cumbrous collection of courts and procedures. It seems difficult to understand how people could ever be induced to enter upon an action at law, considering the delays, the cost, and the doubt attending any action. A case dragged on for year after year, from one decade to another; the estate, meanwhile, was bleeding at every pore; the lawyer took all. The judges, for their part, accepted the situation; they even encouraged the delays, out of sympathy with their former brethren of the bar. We have improved things in this respect, but some of the cumbrous methods remain. The suitor cannot, as in the United States, place his case directly in the hands of the barrister, nor arrange with him as to the cost of proceedings, and—a formidable obstacle in the way of justice—he is always liable to pay the costs of the other side. In other words, justice for a poor man is, practically, still most difficult, if not impossible. Moreover, everything is done by the Courts themselves to make an action terrible and an ordeal even to the strongest. The witness is raised high above the whole court in a box, a position in itself most trying to a nervous person; and though the ancient bullying of the Bar has now become mitigated, some of it still exists; the traditions of brow-beating and terrifying a witness still remain. Moreover, there is, as I said, always that terrible danger of being ordered to pay the costs of the other side.

It will be for our successors to make justice accessible to every one, to remove the terrors of an action, to allow any one to plead in person, or to have direct access to a barrister; to plead *in formâ pauperis;* to be treated by the Bar with courtesy; not to be set in pillory above all the people; and no longer to be saddled with the danger of paying the costs of the other side. If these reforms are ever carried, it will be against the whole weight and influence of Bench and Bar, unless Bench and Bar change their present mind; but it will result in multiplying cases by the hundred—in other words, in causing the Courts of Law to be regarded as the natural arbitrators of every dispute, instead of a few only: in giving work to many hundreds of lawyers; in amalgamating the two branches; and all to the great advantage of the people, and to no loss of dignity, or of income, to the profession.

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After the law, medicine. Here, indeed, we hand over a mass of work incomplete, but splendid with illustrious beginnings. We have introduced sanitary reforms into our towns, our streets, and our houses; we have cleansed and purified our hospitals; we have sent women back—with honor—to their old work of nursing, but nursing trained and scientific; we have learned how to see the very inside of a living man; we have discovered how, without giving him pain, to cut open any part of him, and to operate upon him for almost any length of time. The last discovery is beyond everything admirable and worthy of praise and thanksgiving. But it is commonly spoken of as the end, whereas it is only the beginning. The operation is painless—that is true; but, after the operation, where is then our anæsthetic? When the wounds have to be dressed—that is, daily—where is our anæsthetic? In the Hospitals, it is ready to hand and it is freely used; in the houses and in Nursing Homes, it cannot be used without setting in motion a whole machinery of doctors called in for the purpose. "Give us," we say to our successors, "an anæsthetic which can be easily and readily applied in the long hours and days of pain that follow the operation, as well as in the agony intolerable of the operation itself. So will the bed of sickness lose its terrors, and the soul, if it has to leave the body, will not be torn out of it with throes of suffering, but will gently pass away in painless coma."

There is a great deal more for medical students of the next century: we put into their hands, indeed, plenty of failures. We have failed to cure gout, asthma, rheumatism, cancer, consumption, and paralysis, without speaking of other "plaguy diseases" which afflict mankind. All that we can do at present is to recommend habits and diet which shall perhaps be preventive. We can cure none of these diseases. Will our successors prove more competent than ourselves? We have, at least, prepared the way for a more scientific treatment; we have discovered bacillus, and bacteria; we have invented antiseptic treatment. Perhaps, by their aid, our children will cease to regard disease as an evil which science may alleviate but can never remove. In no branch of intellectual endeavor does the sense of incompleteness weigh upon us so strongly as in the branch of medicine; yet in no branch have the achievements of the nineteenth century been more remarkable.

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I must pass over much that remains. Our care of the poor has been another egregious failure. We have not made up our minds about out-door relief: we have made the "House" a prison; we have failed to devise a working scheme of pensions, and the respectable poor regard with horror the necessity of taking refuge in the gloomy mansion where the unfortunate paupers are ordered about like criminals, and ruled like schoolboys.

Let me advance one point more, and only one out of hundreds, could one find space enough. There is a question, as old as history itself, always disputed, never settled. This question should, if the present order continues, receive an answer during the present century. The question is whether political society is to be a machinery for enabling a few to keep the many in subjection; or whether every man shall be allotted his equal share in government, and his equal opportunities of working for the community. In other words, is government by the people possible? Is it desirable? Is it better for the people than government by an aristocracy? And shall it prevail?

It is not to us, nor to any European state, that the world looks for an answer to this most momentous question. It is to America, and to America alone, that we must look. You have now had for more than a hundred years a government by the people; it is not a passing experiment, like one of the many forms tried successively in France; it is a settled form; an American, even of the second generation, has it in his blood. We have had, as you have seen, an enormous amount of destructive legislation to get through before we could get the people into their place. You started without any obstructive caste. But the answer to the question proposed above must be based on a long experience. After two hundred years, let the world turn to America for an answer. Never before has the experiment of popular government been made on so great a scale, or for so long a time; never before have the conditions been free from caste, aristocracies or oligarchies.

It is a question the importance of which, to the future of humanity, cannot be exaggerated. Would that in the year 1999 or 2000 one could come back to earth, in order to hear the answer. May it be favorable to democracy. And may it be final!

WALTER BESANT.

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THE ABSURD PARADOX OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY J. M. BUCKLEY, LL. D.

AM I *I*? If I am, can I know that I am? Am I God, or part of God? Have I a soul or spirit? Or am I spirit, and is all that seems to be something else a fond or foul delusion?

Mrs. Eddy forces such questions by introducing into "Science and Health" this characterization of the Infinite Ego:

> "I, I, I, I itself, I,
> The inside and outside, the what and the why,
> The when and the where, the low and the high,
> All I, I, I, I itself, I."

Though the approver of this, she is not its author. She affirms elsewhere that:

> "God, *the* only substance and divine Principle of creation, is by no means a creative partner in the firm of error named matter, or mortal mind. He eliminates His own idea wherein Principle and idea are not one—or God and man are one—and who can say which that one was?"

Boswell, speaking of Berkeley's attempt to prove the non-existence of matter and that everything in the universe is merely ideal, said to Dr. Johnson: "Though we are satisfied his doctrine is not true, it is impossible to refute it." Instantly Johnson struck his foot with mighty force against a large stone and exclaimed: "*I* refute it *thus*."

"Common sense metaphysics" enables me to identify myself. I think or feel or know that I can distinguish my neighbor from myself, and he is as sure he can distinguish me from himself. Yet we are so much alike, and the universe seems so much the same to each of us, that I can say to him, or to all mankind, as Shylock said to Salarino:

> "Have I not eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?—fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and

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cooled by the same winter and summer as you are? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die?"

Whatever materialistic, or metaphysical, or mixed theory of knowledge and reality may be held, there is in every sane mind a recognition of permanent relations of one thing or idea to another. If there be matter only, or if there be no matter and spirit alone remains, or if "nothing exists where there is no mind to perceive it," the same *relations* must exist.

Berkeley understood this and said:

"I do not argue against the existence of any one thing that we can comprehend either of sensation or reflection; that the things I see with mine eyes and touch with my hands do exist, really exist, I make not the least question. The only thing whose existence I deny is that which philosophers call matter or corporeal substance.

"And in denying this there is no damage done to the rest of mankind, who, I dare say, will never miss it."

Any fantastic hypothesis of the laws of being may be the basis of metaphysical speculation; but, so long as sanity remains, the same order in relations must seem to exist, and the same general conduct with respect to the relations and their order will appear wise or foolish, right, indifferent or wrong. In most respects, Mrs. Eddy acts as if she had no peculiar theory of God, man and the universe. She has no doubt that she is the *I* who was treated by Professor Quimby, of Portland, Maine, and later claimed to make original discoveries and founded the Massachusetts Metaphysical College. She is certain that she is the *I* who charged three hundred dollars for instructing students, and that she is the *I* whose "mortal mind" is delighted with Pleasant View, near Concord, New Hampshire. The famous Souvenir Silver Spoon which she recommended to her votaries seems to blend her idealistic theory with the more material and mortal aspects of the case. The thought of the souvenir is spiritual; the spoon, and the profits derived from its sale, approximate the material and belong to the realm of "mortal mind," to which the desire for other emoluments also appertains.

With respect to Sin, Sickness and Death, she professes to act as most persons do *not,* and maintains that her conduct is the logical result of her metaphysical theory. This theory she claims to have received from God.

Mrs. Eddy claims to have discovered the "Science of Meta-

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physical Healing" in 1866. This she *afterwards* named Christian Science. Ten years before that, when a student in college, the claim of semi-miraculous healing was forced upon my notice by certain anti-medicine, faith-cure Adventists in the vicinity, who tried to heal a young woman. She died, and, until the effects of chemical laws demonstrated that vital action had forever ceased, they prayed over her. After leaving college, I removed to New Hampshire, and frequently visited Mrs. Eddy's birthplace. There I heard much of her, and saw some of her early writings. When she put forth her claims, I studied them through her writings, and received instruction from two of her students. Many facts of her involution, evolution and revolution (a wise autobiographer always omits *something*) are not found in her accounts of herself and her discovery. In my possession are the early editions of "Science and Health," in which her own revisions and those of her cabinet do not appear. None of her public movements or her published writings since then have been neglected by me. If, therefore, I am without some measure of understanding of the personal equation and of the theory and practice of Christian Science, want of opportunity cannot be pleaded in my defense, should injustice be done here in the treatment of the founder and the foundations and what has been built thereon.

Within a year, referring to the origin of "Science and Health," she has written:

"What I wrote had a strange coincidence or relationship with the light of revelation and solar light. I could not write those notes *after sunset:* all thoughts in the line of Scriptural interpretation would leave me until the rising of the sun: then the influx of divine interpretation would pour in upon my spiritual sense as gloriously as the sunlight on the material senses. It was not myself, but the divine power of Truth and Love, infinitely above me, which dictated 'Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures.'"

After praising her own work inordinately, she closes the article in a style which in an ordinary mortal would be called egotism, and in an extraordinary mortal might perhaps pass for humility:

"I should blush to write of 'Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures' as I have, were it of human origin, and I, apart from God, its author. But, as I was only a scribe echoing the harmonies of heaven in Metaphysics, I cannot be super-modest in my estimate of the Christian Science text-book."

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When charged with inconsistency or absurdity, she and her followers take refuge under this proclamation:

"In its literal expression, my system of Christian Metaphysics is hampered by material terms, which must be used to indicate thoughts that are to be understood metaphysically."

On this account, to be clear and just in dealing with her system, it is necessary to extract from her works language which can only be used in an ordinary sense. This passage certainly answers this description and reveals her estimate of herself and her system:

"Leibnitz, Descartes, Fichte, Hegel, Spinoza, Bishop Berkeley, were once clothed with a 'brief authority;' but Berkeley ended his literary career with a treatise on the healing properties of tar-water, and Hegel was an inveterate snuff-taker. The circumlocution and cold categories of Kant never improved the conditions of mortals, morally, spiritually or physically. Such miscalled metaphysical systems are reeds shaken with the wind. Compared with the inspired wisdom and infinite meaning of the Word of Truth ["Science and Health"], they are as moonbeams to the sun, or as Stygian night to the kindling dawn."

The following reference is valuable as an index of the personal equation, and of the essential arrogance of the claims made:

"Emerson's ethics are models of their kind; but even that good man and genial philosopher partially lost his mental faculties before his death, showing that he did not understand the science of Mind Healing as elaborated in my 'Science and Health;' nor did he pretend to do so."

This communication, sent out to the world over her signature within a few weeks, can have no signification requiring a specially spiritual mind, and could probably be understood after sunset:

"You say a boil is painful; but that is impossible, for matter without mind is not painful. The boil simply manifests your belief in pain, through inflammation and swelling; and you call this belief a boil. Now administer mentally to your patient a high attenuation of truth on this subject, and it will soon cure the boil. The fact that pain cannot exist where there is no mortal mind to feel it, is a proof that this so-called mind makes its own pain; that is, its own belief in pain.

"We weep because others weep, we yawn because they yawn, and we have smallpox because others have it; but mortal mind, *not matter*, contains and carries the infection."

Boils have come down to us from high antiquity. Pharaoh knew something of them, and they were among the trials of Job. That any one who has experienced the rise and progress and the

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decline and fall of a boil can deny the existence of matter is inexplicable!

Mrs. Eddy affirms that "Science and Health" properly interprets the Bible, and that the truth of the theory of Christian Science was demonstrated by Jesus "when healing mortal minds and bodies," but was lost sight of until rediscovered by her and demonstrated with "signs following."

Her serious propositions, endlessly reiterated, are:

"I demonstrated this as the leading factor in mind-science—that mind is all and matter naught. * * * Matter seemeth to be, but is not. * * * What is termed matter is but a manifestation of mortal mind. * * * Christian Science eschews what is termed natural science. The five physical senses are avenues of mortal mind. What, then, is the material personality which we call I? It is the embodiment of sin, sickness, and death. Spirit is God, soul; and soul or spirit is not in man; else man would be identical with God. In reality, man has no other mind than God, it is only a delusion that he seems to have another mind. * * * What appears to the senses as death is but a mortal illusion, instead of being matter in the death-process. Men say the body is dead; but this death was the departure of mortal illusion, not of matter. Electricity is not a vital fluid, but an element of mortal mind—the thought essence that forms the link between what is termed matter and mortal mind. The grosser substratum is named *matter*, the more ethereal is called *human mind*, which is the nearer counterfeit of the immortal mind—and hence the more accountable and sinful belief.

"It is a moral wrong to examine the body in order to ascertain if we are in health, and what are our life prospects. To do this is to take the government of man out of the hands of God.

"Christian missionaries do not preach the gospel properly in India 'when hundreds are dying annually of the bite of serpents.'

"Erring mortal views named *mind* produce all the organic and animal action of the mortal body. * * * It is not enough to say that matter is the substratum of evil, and that its highest attenuation is mortal mind; for there is strictly speaking *no* mortal mind. Mind is immortal. * * * Death is the consequent of an antecedent false assumption of the realness of something material and mortal."

"Mortal mind" is a species of trick in her game of logomachy, or else in her theory it is something neither body nor spirit as ordinarily understood.

Whether the Bible be true or false, the claim of Mrs. Eddy that "Science and Health" *agrees with* and *interprets* the Bible is without foundation.

The Hebrews under the direction of Moses had a system of sanitation perfectly adapted to the country, the people, and the climate. The seclusion of the leper, the law forbidding marriages to near kin, the prohibition of the eating of animals that

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had died of disease, the names and descriptions of diseases to which the people would be exposed, distinguished the Israelites among the nations of the earth, and numerous and minute directions show that they knew nothing of such notions as this woman has conceived.

The poisonous character of the wild gourds, which the people, in their ignorance, put into the pottage, was recognized and remedied by Elisha, whose subsequent protracted and fatal illness is portrayed. A multitude of diseases are described, among them consumption, pestilence, palsy, cutaneous disorders, sores, boils, and sunstroke. The maladies of Job, of Hezekiah, to whom Isaiah applied a plaster of figs, and of Daniel—of whom is written: "And I, Daniel, fainted, and was sick certain days; afterward I rose up and did the king's business"—are matters of record.

There are also references to medicines. "A merry heart doeth good like a *medicine*." Ezekiel speaks figuratively of the fruit of the trees being for meat, and "the *leaves thereof for medicine*." There are other figurative references that imply the legitimate use and effect of medicines, such as: "Is there no balm in Gilead, is there no physician there?"

The effect of improper food in producing physical disorders is referred to in Proverbs: "Hast thou found honey? eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith and vomit it." The medicinal effects of liquors, both vinous and compounded, are mentioned in the same book: "Give *strong drink* unto him that is ready to perish, and *wine* unto those that be of heavy heart. Let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more."

It was Christ who said, "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." And the Samaritan bound up the wounds of the man who fell among thieves, "pouring in oil and wine." The sickness of Lazarus and the words of Christ with regard to it, are not in harmony with the methods of Mrs. Eddy. Gluttony and drunkenness in the feasts of the Corinthian church made "many weak and sickly," and caused the death of some. Paul recounts his being "in weariness and painfulness," also his "thorn in the flesh," and his prayer three times that it might depart. He prescribed to Timothy "a little wine for his *stomach's sake*" and his "often infirmities." Enthusiasts have

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affirmed that this wine was unfermented. Why, then, the caution that he should confine himself to a little, and why a prescription of a little of one kind of mere food for *"often infirmities"*? Wherever illness was mentioned by Christ or any of his Apostles, it was spoken of as a reality, as a condition of disease in feeling, perception, or action consequent upon a condition or a process in the individual; and wholeness or health as a restoration of the normal condition and processes.

Numerous "treatments," to be paid for per visit, do not appear in the Christian Scriptures. Elisha refused an immense sum from Naaman, and called down the judgment of God on Gehazi, his servant, who surreptitiously sought to enrich himself by a tax upon the healed diplomat.

Christ sent out the seventy with two instructions: *"Heal the sick.* Cast out Devils. Freely ye have received: *freely give."*

There are other fundamental differences. Christ, when his disciples were affrighted, made a distinction between the spirit and the body, saying, "Handle me and see, a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." He speaks of men who can kill the body, and warns against something more terrible that may be after the death of the body which may be inflicted upon both body and soul.

Christ required faith. Mrs. Eddy disparages faith, putting it below what she calls understanding and antagonistic to it. Christ specifically commanded prayer in the sense of petitioning a person, with a promise that such prayers would avail when offered according to the will of God. Mrs. Eddy thus condemns it:

> "Petitioning a personal deity is a misapprehension of the source and means of all good and blessedness."
>
> "Prayer to a person affects the sick as a drug that has no efficacy of its own, but borrows its power from faith and belief in matter."

The New Testament has much to say of the beneficent influence of pain as a means of chastening the spirit, and gives instructions to those who "suffer according to the will of God."

If the theory of this metaphysical siren be true, the sufferings of Christ on the cross were erroneous dreams of mortal mind, and the "sweat as it were great drops of blood" forced by anguish from every pore, was avoidable by her process. Indeed, she declares that: "Had wisdom characterized all the say-

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ings of Jesus, He *would not have prophesied His own death, and thereby hastened or caused it.*"

Enslaved or abnormalized by her theory, she rushes in where angels fear to tread, and indites words such as no woman or man ever uttered, either in belief or unbelief of Christ or His mission.

"Jesus, born of a Virgin mother, was more of a miracle to that age than to this. The Bethlehem babe was the nearest approximation, since the record in Genesis, to the Science of Being, in which spirit makes man. But, man born of woman being the usual advent of mortal man, this material belief entered in part Mary's spiritual conception of Jesus, which accounts for His struggles in Gethsemane, but it made Him mediator between God and mortal man. A lack of entire science in the advent of Jesus produced its own discord and met its fate in death."

Christ and His Apostles raised the dead, and turned away from no malady. Their cures were instantaneous: only one case of hesitation is recorded, through want of faith in the Disciples; but their Master's voice was effectual. They lost no patients. Those whom they healed suffered no relapses. Surgical cases were not, as is the fact with Christian Scientists, rejected. All "the maimed" were "made whole," and Christ's last miracle of healing was to replace an ear which had been smitten off by the sword of the impulsive Peter.

Whether Christianity be true or false, there is no way by which Mrs. Eddy can harmonize her theory with it, except by reading into it the dreams of her heated fancy.

Her system of spiritual therapeutics, as embodied in her prescriptions, is fantastic. Mothers, and others, are taught that diet and dirt are of no significance.

"The condition of the stomach, bowels, food and clothing, and so forth, is of no serious moment to your child. Your views regarding them will produce the only result they can have on the health of your child. The daily ablution of an infant is not more natural or necessary than to take a fresh fish out of water and cover it with dirt once a day, that it may thrive better in its natural element."

Again she affirms:

"This woman learned that food neither strengthens nor weakens the body, that mind alone does. . . . The truth is, food does not affect the life of man. . . . It would be foolish to venture beyond our present understanding; foolish to stop eating until we gain more goodness, and a clearer apprehension of the living God."

Exercise is of no value; indeed, "it cannot possibly enlarge muscles."

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"Because the muscles of the blacksmith's arm are strongly developed, it does not follow that exercise did it, or that an arm less used must be less fragile. . . . The trip hammer is not increased in size by exercise; why not, since muscles are as material as wood and iron?"

Bathing and rubbing are not only useless, but deserve castigation. Here is the dictum:

"Bathing and rubbing to alter the secretions or remove unhealthy exhalations from the cuticle, receive a useful rebuke from Christian healing."

To a questioner who said, "How can I believe there is no such thing as matter when I weigh over two hundred pounds, and daily carry about this weight?" Mrs. Eddy answered:

"By learning that matter is but manifest mortal mind. You entertain an adipose belief of your sense as substance; whereas substance means more than matter, it is the glory and preeminence of spirit. Have you never been so preoccupied in thought while moving your body, that you did this without consciousness of its weight?"

Mrs. Eddy claims that her power over "the fish of the sea" was demonstrated by the cure of a case of inflammation and stoppage resulting from eating smoked herring. She bases her proposition upon this: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have dominion over *the fish of the sea* and over the fowl of the air." These are her words:

"Had that man dominion over the fish in his stomach? His want of control over the fish of the sea must have been an illusion, or else the Scriptures misstate man's power. That the Bible is true I believe not only, but I demonstrated its truth when I exercised my power over the fish, cast out the sick man's illusion, and healed him."

I was at the scene of a railway accident at which twenty-six persons were killed and one hundred and four wounded. Mrs. Eddy accounts for their condition in this way:

"The fear of dissevered bodily members, or a belief in such a possibility, is reflected on the body in the shape of headache, fractured bones, dislocated joints, and so on, as directly as shame is seen in the blush rising to the cheek. This human error about physical wounds and colics is part and parcel of the illusion that matter can feel and see, having sensation and substance."

Mrs. Eddy thus explains the origin of insanity: "It implies belief in a diseased brain, while physical ailments so-called arise from belief that some other portions of the body are deranged." She maintains that, if one were to believe fully that the brain has nothing to do with the mind, there would be no insanity

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from so-called injuries of the brain, whereas if one believed that the great toe was a cause of insanity "a bunion would produce it."

An eminent author some years since wrote upon "Aberrations of the Sexual Instinct," and how they affect the reflective processes. Those familiar with that paper will certainly be reminded of it by the following passage from Mrs. Eddy. She does not shrink from saying:

"Until time matures, human growth, marriage and progeny will continue unprohibited in Christian Science, but we look to future generations for ability to comply with absolute science when marriage shall be found to be man's oneness with God, the unity of eternal love. . . . To abolish marriage at this period and maintain morality and generation, would put ingenuity to ludicrous shifts; yet this is possible in science, although it is to-day problematic. The time cometh and now is for spiritual and eternal existence to be recognized and understood in science. All is Mind. Human procreation, birth, life, and death, are subjective states of human erring mind. They are the phenomena of mortality, nothingness, and illustrate mortal mind and body as one and neither real nor eternal."

The foregoing suggests the inquiry: How near the verge of insanity may persons wander, and still retain financial ability?

The following frank confession made by Mrs. Eddy should not be omitted:

"To quench the glowing flames of falsehood, once in about seven years, I have to repeat this—that I use no drugs whatever, not even *coffea*, coffee, *thea*, tea, *capsicum*, red pepper; though every day, and especially at dinner, I indulge in homoeopathic doses of *natrum muriaticum*, common salt."

The testimony of Christian Scientists to their cures is, to a large degree, discredited by their ignorance of and indifference to the human system. Over many of the cases they describe, as over the account given by Mrs. Eddy of her own hopeless invalidism and diversified ailments, *hysteria* and *hypochondria* might be inscribed in large characters. Their alleged and actual recoveries present no new problems either in psychology, physiology or pathology. Yet the number and diversity of diseases from which those whom they heal were suffering at one and the same time, or successively, and the positiveness with which they name these diseases, rival the accounts of the most unscrupulous quacks.

It is true that, under their incantations, or silence or "absent treatment," many recover from trifling ailments, and some from serious maladies. But only those unacquainted with the latent resources of human vitality, and the effects of imagination, faith,

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expectancy, and personal influence, find this problem difficult. Without any theory, many all their lives refuse to consult doctors or take medicine; more consult physicians and recover by attention to hygiene without medicine. Millions of the poor and of those in frontier or scattered regions, in shipwrecks, in time of war and pestilence, have recovered without medical aid, the *vis medicatrix naturae* bringing them through.

Many diseases are self-limited. Under ordinary circumstances, if let alone, the patient will recover. In such cases, whatever treatment he has had receives the credit. The influence of hope is well known, and also that of emotional excitement, which often kills and more frequently cures. Many are ill chiefly because they fancy themselves so, and only need some one to make them believe they are well. All schools of medicine receive the benefit of these latent resources and natural suggestions.

To divert the attention of patients from themselves by expectation, by confidence in physician or in theory, is of great benefit. Sometimes, the concentration, under the influence of suggestion, of the patient's attention upon particular parts of the body, may have a favorable or unfavorable effect, even to the extent of producing structural alteration. All that Christian Scientists seem to achieve is done by these hidden springs of life and mental adjuncts. This is proved by the fact that they have the same limitations, dangers of relapse, and inability to exert the least influence on certain diseases which Mormons, anti-medicine faith-healers, spiritualists, and occult healers of all kinds encounter. None can give hearing or sight to those born deaf or blind, nor restore lost members to the body.

The failures of Christian Scientists are innumerable. Twenty years ago, I collected vital statistics of various communistic institutions which refuse medical aid, and compared them with the tables of life insurance companies; and on the basis of the results of the comparison, I predicted that, should Christian Science at any time begin to spread rapidly, or should anti-medicine, faith-healing institutions be largely increased, the number of deaths would attract attention, and public indignation be excited by failures to heal maladies which ordinarily yield to medical or surgical treatment.

This prediction is now being fulfilled every day. Many who have been vainly treated by Christian Scientists are dead. None

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of their failures is mentioned by the healers, and few by living victims, who are usually silenced by shame. One I met in an insane asylum, muttering all day long, "God can never be sick."

The opinion that herbs and drugs have no power except as "belief or mortal mind" gives it, is puerile, and is destroyed by the fact that the medicinal effects of various herbs, minerals and waters have been discovered by *accident.*

The power of *anæsthetics* to produce insensibility so complete as to admit of painful major operations, without the sufferer being conscious of pain, was accidentally discovered. Their effects are practically instantaneous and capable of almost indefinite prolongation. They are equally manifest upon those who have never heard of them, upon idiots, maniacs, domestic animals, and the most ferocious of wild animals. In the presence of this demonstration of the falsity of their fundamental theory, sincere believers in Christian Science are objects of pity, and its merely financial exploiters should be objects of abhorrence.

The difference between Christian Science Healers and physicians worthy of the name is great. An intelligent, educated, experienced and candid physician studies both the mind and the body, relieves the sick man of the responsibility of treating himself, strengthens him by hope and encourages him by his personal presence and manner. He understands the mineral, plant and animal substances included in Materia Medica; he knows that not medicine, but inherited vital force, is the primary cause of health and healing, and of the repair of injuries. He knows also by observation and experiment that nature can be assisted, but he interferes only when it is necessary and safe. Such a physician is too learned and too honest ever to do he knows not what because he knows not what to do. He can relieve the pains of incurable diseases, smooth the pathway of sufferers to the inevitable end, and to convalescents he can give such hygienic hints as may prevent a recurrence of the malady or save them from something worse. Certain that all men must die and that all die of old age, disease, accident, or intentional violence, he claims by hygiene, medicine and surgery to assist nature to delay the inevitable, and to render the journey to it more endurable.

Under the theory of this government, any person is free to believe all the contradictions in the absurd paradox of Christian Science, and every sane person should be free to act upon his

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belief so far as it affects himself *alone*. But should an adult, the victim of an acute or chronic disease, for whose relief no efforts are being made, sink into coma or become delirious, if those nearest to him refuse to call medical or surgical aid, the case is a proper subject for interference by the state. Children, also, are the wards of the state; and if they suffer from diseases which might prove fatal, and their parents and guardians refuse them medical treatment, the state is justified in requiring the attendance of health officers, and, if they believe the situation critical, in enforcing treatment. If the disease be *contagious,* the authorities should take charge of the patient, and require that he be treated by methods which the civilization of the age approves. And whoever by neglect allows a human being for whom he is responsible to die without care is liable to prosecution, and if unable to justify his conduct, to conviction and punishment.

As Christian Science denies the testimony of the senses; and as its methods are the same whether the case is one of smallpox, bubonic plague, leprosy, scarlet fever, diphtheria, or a simple cold; and as the declaration of its founder is, "I have always advised my pupils not to read works in advocacy of a materialistic treatment of disease, because they becloud the science of metaphysical healing;" and as many contagious diseases are distinguishable only by expert physicians, where there is the slightest reason to suspect their existence, the management of them should not be left to those who on principle attach no importance to a knowledge of the nature of any disease.

Like the dreams of sleep, the dream of Christian Science seems real and pleasant while health lasts; but when the believer suffers injuries so painful as to concentrate his attention upon himself, or when the sickness is in another and is unto death, the dream becomes a nightmare. Then the refrain from the lips of the foundress, "Sympathy with sin, sorrow and sickness would dethrone God as truth," has no power; unless, the testimony of the senses having been denied, the natural emotions of the heart are paralyzed—one of the worst effects of a delusion which, while in all other relations of human life it allows the use of means adapted to ends, in sickness rejects, in the name of God, all that God has endowed with healing properties. At the last, Christian Science and Pagan Stoicism become equivalent terms.

J. M. BUCKLEY.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PORTO RICAN PROBLEM.

BY L. S. ROWE, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER TO REVISE AND COMPILE THE LAWS OF PORTO RICO.

THE problem of government in Porto Rico is unique. The analogies with the Philippine situation are remote and, in many respects, misleading. Even the experience of England and France in the West Indies is of but little value. The history of these islands seems one long series of changes of sovereignty, Spain, France and England having in turn made them the football of colonial politics. Little thought was given either to the rights of the native population or to their system of law. Although in some cases representative institutions were established, sufficient power was usually retained by the executive authority to overcome opposition; and, with every change of sovereignty, a radical change in the private as well as the public law was effected. It is true that in but few cases were local political traditions sufficiently developed to require much care or thought in adapting insular institutions to a new régime.

In Porto Rico, however, an entirely different situation confronts the United States. The Spanish civilization, with its highly organized political and administrative system, and its carefully developed and complex codes, was, in form at least, extended to the West Indian possessions. We, therefore, meet a population accustomed to a system of law quite as carefully worked out as our own, although in parts constructed on a different basis. Looked at from this point of view, the Philippine problem is simpler than the Porto Rican. The United States Philippine Commission has to deal with a people whose political traditions are as yet unformed, the great majority having still to pass through the first stages of political training. The form of con-

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trol must, therefore, be more or less absolute, in order to secure the first requisite for stable government, the maintenance of order.

The problem is by no means so simple in Porto Rico. As far as the private law is concerned, the traditions have been formed and are as definite as those of Spain itself. It is out of the question, therefore, to sweep away at one fell blow the entire structure. Such a policy would throw the institutional life of the people into a state of confusion, and inevitably lead to anarchy and disintegration. We must not make an Alsace-Lorraine of Porto Rico. The population, far from being opposed to American rule and American institutions, is anxious to enjoy the benefits of these, and will aid us in every possible way to make their introduction easy. But Americanization must take place gradually, and foster rather than destroy the spirit of legality, guiding it into new channels and developing it in directions neglected by the Spanish system. While, in the strict interpretation of law, our rights in the Island are those of a conqueror, it has not occurred to any one, nor would the American people tolerate, that we should do violence to the institutions of the country. With the exception of the native Spanish element resident in the Island, the American government was welcomed by the entire population; and there is no reason why this feeling should not continue, provided we approach the problem in the proper spirit.

The first step necessary to bring the Island closer to us in political thought and feeling, is the thorough revision of the public law. This can be done all the more readily because of the policy, consistently pursued by Spain, of discouraging active participation in public affairs by the native population. Throughout the history of Spanish domination, the Porto Rican element was classed as "second class Spaniards." The highly centralized form of government which prevailed enabled the Spanish government to place its own agents in every position of importance, whether in the provinces or in the municipalities. For the American government this is at once an advantage and a drawback. It is an advantage, because it clears the way for new institutions, more distinctly American in character. It is a drawback, because of the resulting lack of political training: a fact which will prevent the immediate introduction of that form of local self-government which is usually regarded as a necessary

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part of the American system. For some time to come, we must be prepared to centralize the administration in Porto Rico to a greater degree than in the States of the Union. This necessity is not one, however, from which we need shrink, as the tendency toward administrative centralization is characteristic of our State institutions at the present time. In Porto Rico, we must permit the Insular Government to prescribe to the local authorities the minimum standard of efficiency, and we must furnish it with the means of enforcing this minimum. Unless this is done, the system of local government will never reach the degree of efficiency which the situation requires.

The revision of the criminal, civil and commercial codes, and of the codes of criminal and civil procedure, presents difficulties greater, in some respects, than the revision of the public law. As stated above, the reorganization of the system of government and administration, with a view to bringing it closer to American principles, will be welcomed by the people of the Island. In the private law, however, an entirely different situation confronts us. Both the civil and the commercial codes have been worked out with great care, and represent a more advanced system of law than exists either in Mexico or South America.

The period of liberalism which prevailed in Spain during the sixties and seventies witnessed a profound transformation in the legal system. A large body of jurists, who had received their training in foreign countries—namely, in Germany and France—began the revision of the antiquated system which was based on the "*Siete Partidos.*" The series of compilations, of which the civil and commercial codes and the mortgage law are the most important, gave a new basis to the legal system of the mother country. Both Cuba and Porto Rico received the benefit of these changes, and we thus find a body of civil law which, in some respects, is superior to both the French and German systems. That they have not fulfilled every expectation has been due, in part at least, to the fact that they are intended for a civilization more complex than that of Porto Rico. The most important problem which the revision of the civil and commercial codes presents is to simplify the system in certain parts, and to eliminate those institutions which have been imported from France and Germany, but which have failed to take root.

On the other hand, the existing criminal code requires the

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most thorough revision. Its more primitive character is explained by the fact that it was never subjected to the tests of the more modern penal codes, as is shown in the failure adequately to protect personal rights and in the tendency to punish offenses against property with undue severity. It fails, furthermore, to make proper use of a system of fines, confining itself almost exclusively to the penalty of imprisonment. As a result, a considerable number of offenses, such as are comprised in the articles on restraint of trade, remained unpunished, owing to the unwillingness of the courts to inflict imprisonment where the act involved is *mala prohibita* rather than *mala in se*. The grading of punishment is, furthermore, far removed from our modern standards of right and wrong, and will have to undergo thorough revision.

The codes of civil and criminal procedure will require simplification, in order to make their operation less cumbersome and more rapid. Here the simplicity of procedure which characterizes some of our Western States' codes can readily be introduced without violating any settled traditions. In fact, the adaptation of the Spanish to the American system of private law can be best begun through the codes of procedure. One important change made under the military government strikingly illustrates this fact. Previous to American occupation, civil cases were heard upon written depositions. The introduction of the public, oral trial has been most favorably received, and there is at present no thought of returning to the more primitive procedure. In short, the American system of procedure, particularly that of the code States, is capable of adaptation to the Spanish codes, and will even result in giving to the latter greater force and effect.

While, at first glance, the possibility of reconciling the American and Spanish systems seems remote, a close study of both will show that such a blending is by no means impossible. In fact, it is a combination which must be made, if we are to meet the obligations forced upon us by the administration of our new possessions. It is true that the questions presented are new to us and, in the form they have taken, find no parallel in the history of modern Europe. American rule means orderly development rather than oppression, and must, therefore, effect a gradual combination of the two systems of law rather than a violent substitu-

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tion of one for the other. The latter policy would arouse a form of opposition which would thwart every effort to Americanize the Island. We must gradually accustom ourselves to the thought that the "American system" does not necessarily mean either the English common law or the extreme form of decentralized government to which we have hitherto been accustomed. In fact, the lessons which our new possessions are teaching us will broaden our view of political and legal systems, and prepare us for the larger obligations which our position in the Western Hemisphere has forced upon us. The more thorough comprehension of the strength and weakness of Spanish-American institutions, which must come in the close contact with these practical questions of law and government in Porto Rico, may prepare the way for that closer relationship with the South American republics which the logic of our present situation demands. The feeling of distrust which has existed will disappear, when it is clearly seen that there is nothing in the two civilizations to prevent the fullest co-operation. If, on the other hand, we deal harshly with Porto Rico, the feeling of distrust, of which there were symptoms during and after the recent war, will turn into fear and hatred; and the Monroe Doctrine, instead of being a permanent basis for the maintenance of friendly relations with all nations, will become a byword for aggression and misrule.

In the solution of the Porto Rican problem we are being subjected to a supreme test as an expanding nation. If we fail, our influence in the Western Hemisphere cannot long continue; if we succeed, our position of primacy will receive the sanction of every American country, and the Monroe Doctrine will acquire a new significance.

L. S. Rowe.

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THE CONDITION OF THE SOUTH.

BY WALTER G. OAKMAN.

THE steady advance in prosperity and development in the Southern States, bringing strongly forward the natural resources upon which that advance is based, suggests the inquiry why such advantages have not brought about earlier and greater results, and why that section of the country has failed to attract its share of the added population which has built great cities in the West and has moved the center of population nearly to the Mississippi River.

With a climate genial and healthful over nearly all its area, a fruitful and fertile soil, possessing practically a monopoly in the production of one of the great staples of commerce, with immense and most valuable forests and almost exhaustless mineral wealth, why have immigration and foreign capital been attracted to the South for the development of these resources in a far smaller measure than to much less bountifully endowed portions of our country?

The tremendous waste and sacrifice of the Civil War undoubtedly made it difficult to set once more in motion the wheels of active effort, and to reorganize the productive energies of a region where so much had been destroyed. But a generation has passed since that period, and within a very few years only has the South begun to show her capacity for the creation of values.

In the recent campaign the political attitude of the South made manifest one of the causes which have stood in the way of her advancement, and emphasized very clearly what is, perhaps, the most positive influence that has acted to retard the progress and development of a portion of our country so rich in natural endowment.

The attitude of the South then indicated that no argument, no appeal to reason, would have weight against her traditional

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political prejudices or her loyalty to the mere name of Democracy. With that name to conjure with, the politicians can be assured of Southern support for any policy or any platform, no matter how vicious or how destructive! Sweeping as it is, that statement cannot be regarded as unfair when it is remembered that the South, without a break in her column and without any serious effort to secure the result, voted for the Democratic platform, whereas, throughout the entire remainder of the country, where argument was had and policies were considered, only the four States of Colorado, Idaho, Montana and Nevada, casting thirteen Electoral votes in all, were carried by that party.

The one hundred and forty-two Electoral votes of the Southern States were cast against policies which were admittedly in the interest of the Southern people, and with which they are really in sympathy. The silver issue, involving national discredit and general disaster to all business activities, had ceased to command any intelligent following. Beyond the effort of the Democratic leaders to arouse the passions and jealousy of the vicious and least intelligent members of the community, the apparent issues were Expansion and so-called Militarism. With both these policies the Southern people should naturally be in sympathy.

The Democratic party had approved the expansion of the country by the acquisition of Florida, of Louisiana and of California, when Southern men were leaders of the party and molded the future of the American people. The material interests of the South would be peculiarly benefited by a wider market for their cotton and increasing manufactures; while their sympathies for the native Filipinos could hardly have been actively controlling, when so much opportunity exists unimproved for bettering the condition of the inferior race at home by promoting education in handicrafts and useful knowledge and a higher moral standard. Nor, upon the declaration of the war with Spain, did any section of the country respond more eagerly to the call for troops than the Southern States. Among the officers of the army, Southern generals and others of lesser rank were conspicuous for ability and achievement. In fact, the Southerners are a military people, and can hardly be expected to sympathize with fears that any proposed increase of the army could endanger the liberties of the nation—certainly so small an increase in a nation of seventy-five million people.

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Under these circumstances, the conclusion seems inevitable that the vote of the South in the last Presidential election was based solely upon the traditions and prejudices engendered by the Civil War, waged nearly forty years ago, and that that vote was insincere, as it did not express the convictions of the voters in supporting the measures which they believed would bring the greatest benefit to the country and to their own section of the country. That this accusation is not unjust is indicated by the admission of leading Southern men that many more votes in the South would have been cast for the Republican ticket but for the conviction that Republican success was assured without their help.

It is, perhaps, as well that so great an object lesson should have been given in the recent campaign. Mr. Bryan and the Kansas City platform were made possible only by the foregone support of the South; and so long as political party support is based upon prejudice and not upon conviction or reason, the control of the political parties will remain in the hands of the most aggressive and unscrupulous of their leaders, instead of the broader minded and more patriotic.

The welfare and future of the nation demands the existence of two political parties to serve as wholesome checks and restraints upon each other; that purpose is not attained when the chief constituency of one of the parties is blinded by prejudice and tainted with insincerity.

It is asserted that the peculiar problems of the South, in its relations with the African race, compel its continued adherence to the Democratic party; that any break in its ranks would result in local injury. Perhaps, in the past, in the years following the enfranchisement of the negro, and of his control by so-called carpet-baggers, such a contention may have been justified. Surely, however, local conditions are now sufficiently in hand to permit of a sincere vote upon national questions of the first importance.

If, however, local conditions are so controlling that in all our national life there is no crisis sufficiently urgent to demand recognition, sufficiently acute to cause the withdrawal of even one from the steadfast column of Southern States, then measures of self-protection for the remainder of the nation are made necessary; and, whatever curtailment of the power of the South in the

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Electoral College, or in Congress, may be legally possible, should be undertaken. The nation should not be subjected to the risk of sacrifice, by reason of the selfish unwillingness of any section to separately consider their local and their national policies.

The essential factor in all relations of life wherein various interests meet or combine, for mutual advancement in well-being and prosperity, is confidence in the sincerity of all concerned. Individuals may succeed through favorable circumstance or exceptional ability, even though lacking that element of character; but communities cannot afford to hold other than high standards if they would attract the best influences and command that confidence which is necessary for growth and extension of enterprise. Neither can they afford to remain content under reproach for failure to set up such standards, or they will inevitably lose the best elements of their own people, attracted elsewhere by conditions more in consonance with higher views.

Political insincerity as indicated by the action of the Southern States is so evident, and so compels attention, that it must cast suspicion upon the good faith of the Southern people; and it is earnestly to be hoped that they will soon recognize that their greatest welfare demands that they should follow convictions in the future, instead of surrendering those convictions and their own best interests to a blind adherence to the prejudice of a political creed.

WALTER G. OAKMAN.

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THE BETTING BOOK AT BROOKS'S.

BY G. S. STREET.

Of all the pleasures that come of an interest in letters or history, the greatest, I think, is the inspection of "original documents"; and the greatest in that kind which I myself have had was experienced when, by an especial favor, of which I here make my most sincere acknowledgments, I was allowed to study and make extracts from the Betting Book at Brooks's Club. I propose to repeat some of these extracts—some only, for limits of space prevent my giving all, and discretion prevents my giving a particular few; to copy out bets which reflect the character of a profoundly interesting society; which show the real opinions of contemporary politicians about political chances—in particular of the chances of a certain War in America; which were made by men bearing some of the most famous names in our history—in our common history, for most of these bettors were men before the War of Independence; or which are merely curious in themselves.

I fancy that most of these bets will carry their own significance to my readers without comment of mine. Not to be a mere copyist, however, I will inflict on them a few words of introduction and general explanation. Brooks's Club, which was originally called Almack's but was quite distinct from the Assembly Rooms of that name, was formed in 1764. It was not a political club then. It first took on a political complexion in 1782, when Charles James Fox was on the eve of important office, and was sought after by place hunters and political friends and intriguers. They had to seek him in his haunts, and his favorite haunt was Brooks's, where he was (for once in his life) positively making money—by a faro bank. George Selwyn notes the circumstance in one of his letters to Lord Carlisle. "I own that

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to see Charles closeted every instant at Brooks's by one or the other, that he can neither punt or deal for a quarter of an hour but he is obliged to give an audience * * * is to me a scene *la plus parfaitement comique que l'on puisse imaginer,* and to nobody it seems more risible than to Charles himself." It was, in fact, a gambling club, exclusive, and consisting almost entirely of that happy family which was English society at the time, but a gambling club still; and if most of the bets, even of the earlier bets, dealt with politics, it was because those gamblers happened to govern England.

The first bet is recorded in 1771. From then to 1800, the bets are constant. Then they slacken, and those after 1814—almost entirely political and for small sums—fill but a fifth of the book. Sir George Trevelyan has remarked on the strange epitome of two ages to be found in this club, as it is and as it was a hundred years ago. There is an old print of the large drawing room, with a crowd of punters round the big table and a few detached couples playing piquet about the room. Looking into that room now, one admires its grave and solemn dignity—perhaps one sighs. A member might go into it and read the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW undisturbed. The change is reflected in the betting book. A few stray political bets in the last fifty years, obviously made not in the least for the sake of the small sums staked, but as a sort of humorous memento of a discussion, one or two social bets to make some nominal continuity of an old custom—that is all. The later political bets are sometimes of great interest—I shall give some as late as 1852—but the old spirit is gone. Sir George Trevelyan, if I remember rightly, takes occasion to reflect ethically on the change. So will not I: enough to confess that the time of Charles Fox (provided that I had been in his set) would have pleased me better. One may gamble and carouse, if one has the mind, even now, but not with wits and statesmen.

The soul and spirit of that earlier time was Charles Fox, of course, that amazing genius and prodigal—scholar, wit, statesman, gambler, rake, affectionate husband, and the best loved man of his time. I imagine him dealing the cards at the large table, with his swarthy face and black eyebrows and ample waistcoat, with the unquestioned stamp of thought and command in all his aspect, and with the humorous twinkling eyes which tell of the

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man innately *volage,* forever the child and victim of free-living impulse. Those of my readers who visit London should mark the fine picture of him in the National Portrait Gallery; there is none more interesting there. Next him sits his partner in the bank and lifelong intimate, Fitzpatrick, who died a general and was called "Beau Richard"; Hare, "the Hare of many friends"; Storer, famous for his good manners, their savior, perhaps; the last Duke of Queensberry, "Old Q."; General Burgoyne, the wit and man of fashion, back from his unlucky campaign against the American colonists; the second Lord Bolingbroke, "Bully," and his brother, Captain St. John, "The Baptist"; Sheridan—I might go on forever. George Selwyn, everybody's friend and counsellor, stands apart, half scandalized and half amused. But I must come to the bets.

They are all contained in one book, the size of an ordinary, thick notebook, on rough paper with gilt edges. The book, however, consists of two, bound in handsome red together. Some ten pages at the beginning of the second part are copies from the first part—why made and when, history sayeth not. But in all the rest of the book, the bets are made in the handwriting of one or the other bettor—possibly, in a few instances, by an obliging friend. It was a joy to me to observe the various handwritings—the easy, rapid writing of men who wrote a good deal; the clumsy, laborious writing of fingers more familiar with guns and bridle-reins; the hasty scrawl of the man who was in a hurry to be at play; sometimes the fantastic scrawl of the man who had plainly dined. Charles Fox's fist changes in the progress of the book from a rather round and boyish form to an elegant and running hand—an improvement no doubt produced by the lessons we know he took from a writing-master. He and Fitzpatrick used the book most constantly; after 1780, Sheridan's nimble flourish decorates a good many pages. I preserve spelling and other accidents, and refrain from impertinent and unnecessary *"sics."* The majority of the bets are not signed or initialled, nor is the settlement recorded: Sheridan (in pride, it may have been, of winning or paying) seems first to have introduced the latter custom.

It is convenient to make a few rough divisions. I propose to take first the period up to 1810 or so, to exhaust the Fox generation, and give (1.) Bets interesting on social grounds, or for the names put to them, (2.) Bets referring to the American War of

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Independence, and (3.) Other political bets. And I shall add (4.) Some political bets of a later date.

I.

"1771. April 16th. Ld. Ossory betts Mr. C. Fox 100 Guineas to 10 that Doctor North is not Bishop of Durham this day two months, provided the present Bishop dies within that time."

That is the fourth bet in the book, Fox's first appearance, and an indication of his praiseworthy interest in the Church. The next bet is less edifying, though a sign of artistic interests:

"1771. June 22nd. Mr. William Hanger bets Mr. Lee Twenty Guineas to 25 that Mlle. Heinel does not dance in England at the Opera House next Month."

The next but one:

"Mr. Boothby gave Mr. Fawkener five Guineas to receive One Hundred if the Duke of Queensbury dies before half an Hour after five of the afternoon of the 27 of June 1773. June 27: 1772."

This is a very frequent sort of bet: that So-and-so will die before somebody else, that So-and-so will be alive in ten years' time—the rather gloomy subject is always coming up. So is the subject of marriage, sometimes, as in the case of the bet next given, denoting an anti-nuptial determination:

"2nd March 1774. Lord Northington betts Mr. Plumer 300 Guineas: to 50: that either the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Cholmondeley, Mr. Hanger, or Mr. Plumer is married before His Lordship."

In 1774 came Fox's great financial crash. He was twenty-five years old. His elder brother's wife had borne a son, and the Jews, perceiving that the hope of his succession to the immense fortune of his father, Lord Holland, was gone, refused to wait any longer. Lord Holland, the most generous, if not the most judicious, father in history, paid £140,000 for Charles. Odds were laid against Charles's retrieving a sound financial position.

"March 21, 1774. Almack's. Lord Clermont has given Mr. Crawford ten guineas upon the condition of receiving £500 from him, whenever Mr. Charles Fox shall be worth 100,000£ clear of debts."

(This is the "Fish Crawford" of the Selwyn Letters. He was a friend of Hume and of Madame du Deffand. I must here acknowledge, not for the first time, my obligations to the excellent edition of Selwyn's Letters edited by Mr. Roscoe and Miss Clergue). As for Charles, he said he was sorry and proposed to make a fortune at the bar. Whereupon:

"Mr. Burgoyne betts Mr. C. Fox 50 gs. that Ld. Cholmondeley, Ld.

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Northington, D. of Leinster & Ld. Coleraine are all married or dead before Mr. C. Fox is called to the Barr."

We shall hear of Mr. Burgoyne in a different connection: the insertion of the afterthought "or dead" shows a caution which should have made him a more successful general. Follow bets on the number of people present at the Pantheon one night (the Opera House which was built in 1772 and burnt in 1792), on the validity of marriages performed by a person not a clergyman, on Lord Carlisle's going to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, on who would get the garter, on skill in shooting, on deaths and marriages and the average weight of sheep, and on the fate of the Perreau brothers, who were executed for forgery. A more famous forger, Dr. Dodd, who forged Lord Chesterfield's name and whose great influence nearly rescued him, is the subject of another. A curious sort of bet which often occurs is, that such and such a famous man, presumably obnoxious to the wagerer, will be hanged before somebody else—obviously a means of expressing dislike.

"Almacks, March 6. 1776.

"Mr. C. Turner betts Mr. E. Fawkener 90 gs. that Ld. North falls by the hands of Justice before Mr. Hancock president of the Continental Congress to be determined in three years from the date hereof."

"Mr. W. Hanger betts Mr. Fox fifty guineas Mr. Fox has the gout before Mr. Hanger."

That was in 1779, but it is gratifying to remember that Fox made up for the ravages of Brooks's by a few weeks' shooting every year. Sheridan was elected to Brooks's on November 2d, 1780, after prolonged opposition by the Duke of Queensberry and George Selwyn; and on March 2d, 1781, appears his first bet—about a certain murderer's confessing. Selwyn—I jump about, I know, but a minute system is impossible—appears only once in the book, and then the bet was disputed.

"Mr. Selwyn bets Mr. FitzPatrick 5 gs. that he is Surveyor of Crown Lands this day 12 months.

"Dec. 27th 1783."

"A Bubble Bett Mr. Selwyn betted that he was Surveyor only meaning Surveyor in the Mint."

As a matter of fact, Pitt gave Selwyn the sinecure in question in 1784.

"March 24 1794.

"Mr. Fox betts Mr. Thompson 60 to 50 that Mr. Sheridan is not married on or before 26th March 1795."

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This bet is interesting, for the subject (Sheridan) was married to the daughter of Dean Ogle on April 27th, 1795, and for the reappearance of Fox after a considerable interval, due to his retirement abroad with Mrs. Armistead, whom he married.*

Some time in 1783—presumably February 4th—Fox took a bet of two hundred guineas to ten against his going to America "before the fourth of February, 1785." So far as I know, the intention which, more or less, he must have conceived is not otherwise recorded: one imagines that he, the consistent supporter of the American cause, would have had a great reception. A marriage bet which concerned a more highly placed, though less interesting, personage than Sheridan occurred in 1795 or 1796.

"Ld. Ossory and Ld. R. Seymour have given one guinea each to the Duke of Clarence on condition that the Duke gives each of them 100 guineas on the day following His Royal Highness's Marriage."

One wonders if he remembered the circumstance when, being heir-presumptive to the throne, he married the Princess Adelaide in 1818.

"July 4th 1796.

"Mr. J. M. Smith has given Mr. Edd. Fawkener one guinea to receive ten guineas, when Mr. Beckford of Fonthill be made an English Peer."

His eccentricities considered, these seem very short odds against the amazing author of "Vathek"; but at the time of the bet he was still in possession of his father's (Alderman Beckford, Pitt's friend) vast fortune. Another remarkable person of the Regency comes up in 1807, when a bet was made about Beau Brummell's going as secretary to Constantinople; and in 1795 appears Lord Hertford's name—Lord Hertford, the most famous profligate of his time, the original of Thackeray's Lord Steyne, and the man who began that wonderful collection which is now, with Hertford House, the property of the nation.

I have given no horse-racing or gambling bets as yet, but they are all, or nearly all, of an inevitably commonplace character. In pre-bookmaker days, there was, of course, a good deal of betting on horse-races in the clubs, but there are far fewer in this book than in that of White's, an institution which was frequented in preference by that pillar of the turf, "Old Q." Probably, too, most of the bets were made on the course. The usual form of

*See the Rev. W. Hunt's life of him in the Dictionary of National Biography.

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gambling bet was for a man to wager that he would not lose above a certain sum at a sitting, a sort of additional inducement to play carefully. One of these bets defines the sitting as "from dinner to dinner," which reminds one—we must not be too proud of our virtues—of certain lengthy games of poker which have been played on trans-Atlantic voyages. Only the poker-players were not Foreign Secretaries and Leaders of the Opposition. Sometimes a man would effect a sort of inverted insurance, by wagering a large sum against his playing at all. One may mention, in this connection, an odd sort of bet in which a man would lay heavy odds against his doing something which it was absolutely in his power to do or to leave undone. Thus:

"Sir G. Webster gives Lord Derby one guinea to receive one Hundred Guineas, when Ld. Derby goes up in a Ballon one Hundred yards from the Surface of the Earth. 6th Dec. 1783."

One can understand that Lord Derby should have wished to protect himself against the temptation to go ballooning; but it is difficult to see why Sir G. Webster should have parted with his guinea, unless he was convinced that Lord Derby was a balloon-maniac or kindly wished to save his lordship from himself.

II.

But I must come now to more important themes. The first bet which bears on the American War was made on December 13th, 1774, when "Ld. Bolingbroke betts Mr. Fox 150, to 50, that the Tea Act is not repealed this Session." Four months later occurred the first engagement between the Americans and His Majesty's forces, and from then to the peace, in 1783, bets on the subject occur at intervals. They begin, of course, with confidence in the might of Great Britain; that was to be expected. What is more remarkable is the calmness with which the whole business was evidently regarded at Brooks's. America was a long way off in those days, and the war then was one of many topics of interest. Even Fox, who must have realized the issues—and who, by the way, consistently bet on the colonists' success—was not too much absorbed to turn at once to a question of cards. Thus:

"March 11th 1776.

"Mr. Sheldon betts Mr. Charles Fox fifty guineas that Peace is made with America before this day two years."

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Immediately underneath is a bet obviously made at the same time:

"Mr. Fox has given a guinea to Mr. Crofts & is to receive fifty whenever Mr. Crofts forgets two by honours in Mr. Fox's presence."

It is easy to draw a contrast between this indifference and the strenuousness of the American leaders: it is easy, and I will not seek to defend those Georgian great men at Brooks's. But their point of view was natural. In license and security, they were so many kings; they governed England with one hand and threw dice with the other; authority came too easily to them to admit of a right perspective of responsibility. One should reflect on the fair side of things, and in place of condemning their faults imagine for one's pleasure the charm of this union of the great with the trivial—a charm which no English society is likely to create again. But to resume.

"Lord Stavordale bets Mr. Fox 20 guineas that Genl. Burgoyne is not in England by ye first of March 1776."

Lord Stavordale won this bet, of course. It was on October 17th, 1777, that General Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga: in 1779, we find him at Brooks's again, betting with Lord Edward Bentinck about the number of nights Lord Edward should sup at Vauxhall.

In March, 1776:

"Mr. Charles Turner betts Ld. Nottingham five & twenty guineas that Quebec is now, or will be before the 1st of January 1777 in the Hands of the Provisional Army, supposing no Peace concluded."

Here, for once in a way, the man who backed the English won.

"Aug. 19th 1776.

"Mr. Fox bets Ld. Bolingbroke Five guineas that America does not belong to the King of Great Britain this day two years."

"Mr. Boothby bets Mr. Townshend 50 gs. that the American War is over before Christmas 1779, without America's being independent of the crown of Great Britain.

"June 29th (1777)."

"26th Dec. 1779.

"Mr. Elliot bets Lord George Cavendish five guineas that before the first of January 1781 the Colonies will have given up their claim of Independence."

"Lord Clermont betts General Bourgoine one hundred guineas that a peace is made between Gr. Britain & several of the American colonies—without allowing their independency, before ye 13 day of Janry, 1785.

"Janry 13, 1780."

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These bets on the general upshot need no comment. The last bet on the subject tacitly signalizes the fact that a new nation was in existence.

"Mr. Sheridan bets Mr. Fitzpatrick 10 gs. to 2 that the United States of America have six ships of the Line at sea within three years.
"Janry 24th 1783. Won by Col Fitzpatrick."

III.

In domestic politics, one finds, as one would expect, that most of the bets were on matters of personal detail—who would get such and such a place, and the like. Many, also, which illustrate the party manoeuvres of the time, the various attacks of the Opposition and various dissolutions of Parliament, have little interest except to the professed student of the period. But, every now and then, there is a bet which takes one back to larger or more striking events; and, outside domestic politics, there are bets which show something of Great Britain's vital struggle with her enemies, and of what was thought of the chances of foreign affairs. I will give these in their own order.

"March 11th 1776
"Ld. Bolingbroke gives a guinea to Mr. Ch: Fox, & is to receive a thousand from him, whenever the Debt of this country amounts to 171 millions. Mr. Fox is not to pay the 1000, till He is one of His Majesty's Cabinet."

In 1786, the National Debt was £268,000,000; it is not recorded if Lord "Bully" was paid. Fox made another very speculative bet in 1777.

"Mr. Fox has given Mr. Shirley ten guineas to receive five hundred whenever Turkey in Europe belongs to European Power or Powers."

"Ld. Derby betts Mr. Townshend fifty guineas that Ld. Chatham is dead this day fortnight.
"April 7th (1778)."

This bet was made on the same day that Chatham had his fatal fit in the House of Lords, while speaking on behalf of America. He lingered, however, till the 11th of May, so that Mr. Townshend—the "Tommy" of the lines on Burke—won.

"Lord Milford betts Ld Worthington ten guineas to fifty guineas that the French make an actual landing of one thousand men in Great Britain or Ireland before the 1st of November next.
"May 15th 1779."

That reads somewhat strangely to us now; but, by July of the same year, the odds against the French landing had fallen from

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five-to-one to evens! One must allow these wagerers some credit for coolness; they would have bet on the result if the French had been marching on London.

"Mr. Fitzpatrick bets Gen^{l} Burgoyne & Mr. Crewe 20 gs. that L^{d} Rockingham is first L^{d} of the Treasury at the meeting of Parliament after Easter.

"15th March 1782."

Mr. Fitzpatrick knew. Lord North resigned on the 20th of this month and Lord Rockingham took office on the 25th, with Charles Fox (who had been sold-up less than a year before, while all the world watched his furniture being carried into St. James's Street, he laughing with the rest) for his Foreign Secretary.

"S^{r} Godfrey Webster bets S^{r} Charlton Leighton five guineas that the present Paymaster, Mr. Rigby, has not settled his accounts as Paymaster this day five years.

"March 22nd 1782."

That was the advantage of being Paymaster: you postponed settling your accounts until you had made a fortune by the use of the country's millions. Lord Holland, Fox's father, did this.

About the same time Lord Derby took a bet of five to one, in hundreds (guineas), that England would not have to give Gibraltar to Spain in a year. Gibraltar was besieged, as we know, all this time by the French and Spaniards in great force; but Lord Derby lost his hundred guineas.

"18 March 1784.

"The Duke of Queensberry bets Mr. Crewe 50 gs. that Mr. Fox is not returned member for Westminster.

"paid March 23rd 1785."

This was the celebrated election in which the Duchess of Devonshire canvassed for Fox, and is said to have bought a vote with a kiss. The lapse of time before the bet was paid was due to the scrutiny, about which there was a struggle in Parliament for two sessions.

"Mr. Sheridan betts Mr. Stepney an hundred guineas to five that the King of France is not absolute Jan. 1 1791.

"Won by Mr. Sheridan.

"pd."

The bet needs no comment; nor does one, also curious, made by Fitzpatrick, that the slave trade would be abolished "before Episcopacy;" that was in 1792, some five years after the subject was first raised. In 1794, when Horne Tooke was sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason, there were bets on his being

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hanged, Fitzpatrick betting that he would be hanged "before Mr. Pitt." A curious bet was made in 1794. Col. Tarleton, carried away, it is to be supposed, by military enthusiasm, took a bet of a thousand to one against his leading "the advanced party of the combined army in the suburbs of Paris before December next." In the same year is mention of one of the most famous trials in history.

"Genl. Fitzpatrick bets Mr. Grey 10 guineas to one that Mr. Hastings is found guilty upon some part of the charges against him."

IV.

From this time the bets are scanty. The Regency men gambled as deeply as the earlier set at Brooks's, but the betting habit, or at least the habit of betting about everything, seems to have waned. But still, at intervals, the bets remind one of the progress of great events.

In January, 1811, the betting on George the Third's recovery was even. On the 9th of April, 1814, there was a bet of twenty-five to fifty "that the various Paintings Sculptures and Works of Art which have been seized and brought to Paris during the Revolution will in the course of 12 months be presented to England," a confidence in the gratitude of the other nations which was not justified. On the 22d of March, 1815, there was a bet of a hundred to ten against Louis XVIII. or any Bourbon being reinstated in the course of twelve months.

The Catholic Question produced a bet that it would be lost in the session of 1828, and the Corn Act of 1828 an elaborate bet about the amount of imported wheat, made by the statesman, Lord Althorp.

"Mr. C. Fortescue bets Lord Durham 2 ponies to one that Louis Napoleon will still be at the head of the French Government this day 3 years.

"May 28th 1852."

Two other bets in this year are interesting.

"Mr. Bulteel bets Mr. L. Agar Ellis a poney that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer dies a radical."

That was during Lord Derby's administration, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was Benjamin Disraeli. And this:

"Mr. Cadogan gives Mr. R. E. Alston 5£ on condition that Mr. R. G. Alston returns £150 to Mr. Cadogan when there is an Electric Telegraphic Communication between the Continent of America and Great Britain."

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There are no bets on the Crimea, on the Mutiny, the Reform Bill or the Repeal of the Corn Laws. The Civil War in America produced a bet of two to one "that England is not at war with the Confederate States within two years after their recognition by the Federal Government." I conclude with a bet on another trial, rather less important, it is true, than that of Warren Hastings, but one which probably caused as much excitement in its time. One member bet another a guinea to a pound "that the claimant in the Tichborne case does not win the cause."

And here I end. There are other bets of interest, but they are of too recent date to give—a private matter altogether. There is no harm in disclosing the private affairs of Charles Fox, but I should be the last person in the world to tell what statesman bet another a bottle of wine in the year 1900. And, after all, it is the earlier time that attracts one in such a connection. I think of Charles Fox, between a brilliant speech on great matters in the House of Commons and a night at faro, pausing to write down a bet in this book; I rejoiced to read the actual page, and I trust it will not be time thrown away even to read the extract. I imagine a crowd standing round him as he writes—a crowd of men whom Walpole and Selwyn and Selwyn's correspondents have made as well known to me as my own acquaintance—better, it is probable, in many ways. But through them all it is Fox himself who rules one's fancy, that strange triumph of intellect over temperament and of temperament over intellect. This record of his private habits and opinions—for such is half of the book—is a priceless possession. Once more I express my thanks for having seen it.

G. S. STREET.

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ANTICIPATIONS: AN EXPERIMENT IN PROPHECY.—II.

BY H. G. WELLS.

IV. Certain Social Reactions.

The business of this paper is to point out and consider certain general ways in which the various factors and elements described in the preceding article will react one upon another, and to speculate what definite statements, if any, it may seem reasonable to make about the people of the year 2000 (or thereabouts), from the reaction of these classes we have attempted to define.

To begin with, it may prove convenient to speculate upon the trend of development of that class about which we have the most grounds for certainty in the coming time. The shareholding class, the rout of the Abyss, the speculator, may develop in countless ways, according to the varying development of exterior influences upon them; but of the most typical portion of the central body, the section containing the scientific engineering or scientific medical sort of people, we can postulate certain tendencies with some confidence. Certain ways of thought they must develop, certain habits of mind and life they will radiate out into the adjacent portions of the social mass. We can even, I think, deduce some conception of the home in which a fairly typical example of this body will be living within a reasonable term of years.

The mere fact that a man is an engineer or a doctor, for example, should imply now, and it certainly will imply in the future, that he has received an education of a certain definite type; he will have a general acquaintance with the scientific interpretation of the universe, and he will have acquired certain positive and practical habits of mind. If the methods of thought of any individual in this central body are not practical and positive,

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he will tend to drift out of it to some more congenial employment. He will, almost necessarily, have a strong imperative to duty, quite apart from whatever theological opinions he may entertain, because, if he has not such an inherent imperative, life, as I shall point out, will have very many more alluring prospects than this. His religious conclusions, whatever they may be, will be based upon some orderly, theological system that must have honestly admitted and reconciled his scientific beliefs; the emotional and mystical elements in his religion will be subordinate or absent. Essentially, he will be a moral man—certainly so far as to exercise self-restraint and live in an ordered way. Unless this is so, he will be unable to give his principal energies to thought and work—that is, he will not be a good typical engineer. If sensuality appear at all largely in this central body, therefore—a point we must leave open here—it will appear, without any trappings of sentiment or mysticism, frankly on Pauline lines—wine for the stomach's sake, and it is better to marry than to burn, a concession to the flesh necessary to secure efficiency. Assuming, in our typical case, that pure indulgence does not appear or flares and passes, then either he will be single or more or less married. The import of that "more or less" will be discussed later; for the present, we may very reasonably conceive him married upon the traditional laws of Christendom. Having a mind considerably engaged, he will not have the leisure for a wife of the distracting, perplexing personality kind; and in our typical case, which will be a typically sound and successful case, we may picture him wedded to a healthy, intelligent and loyal person, who will be her husband's companion in their common leisure, and, as mother of their three or four children and manager of his household, as much of a technically capable individual as himself. He will be a father of several children, I think, because his scientific mental basis will incline him to see the whole of life as a struggle to survive; he will recognize that a childless, sterile life, however pleasant, is essentially failure and perversion; and he will conceive his honor involved in the possession of offspring.

Such a couple will probably dress with a view to a decent convenience; they will not set the fashions, as I shall presently point out, but they will incline to steady and sober them; they will avoid exciting color contrasts and bizarre contours. They will not be habitually promenaders, or greatly addicted to theatrical

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performances; they will probably find their secondary interests—the cardinal ones will, of course, be the work in hand—in a not too imaginative prose literature, in travel and journeys, and in the less sensuous aspects of music. They will probably take a considerable interest in public affairs.

They will probably not keep a servant for two very excellent reasons—because, in the first place, they will not want one, and, in the second, they will not get one, if they do. A servant is necessary in the small modern house, partly to supplement the deficiencies of the wife, but mainly to supplement the deficiencies of the house. She comes to cook and to perform various skilled duties that the wife lacks either knowledge or training, or both, to perform regularly and expeditiously. Usually, it must be confessed, the servant in the small household fails to perform these skilled duties completely. But the great proportion of the servant's duties consists merely in drudgery, that the stupidities of our present-day method of house construction entail, and which the more sanely constructed house of the future will avoid. Consider, for instance, the wanton disregard of avoidable toil displayed in building houses with a service basement without lifts! Then, most dusting and sweeping would be quite avoidable if houses were wiselier done. It is the lack of proper warming appliances which necessitates a vast amount of coal carrying and dirt distribution, and it is this dirt, mainly, that has so painfully to be removed again. The house of the future will probably be warmed in its walls from some power-generating station, as, indeed, already very many houses are lit at the present day. The lack of sane methods of ventilation, also, enhances the general dirtiness and dustiness of the present-day home, and gas lighting and the use of tarnishable metals, wherever possible, involve further labor. But air will enter the house of the future through proper tubes in the walls, which will warm it and capture its dust, and it will be spun out again by a simple mechanism. So one great lump of the servant's toil will disappear. Two others are already disappearing. In many houses there are still the offensive duties of filling lamps and blacking boots to be done. Our coming house, however, will have no lamps; and, as for boots, really intelligent people will feel the essential ugliness of wearing the evidence of constant manual toil upon their persons. They will wear sorts of shoes and boots that can be cleaned by wiping

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in a minute or so. Take now the bedroom work. The lack of ingenuity in sanitary fittings at present forbids the obvious convenience of hot and cold water supply to the bedroom, and there is a mighty fetching and carrying of water and slops to be got through daily; but all that will cease. Every bedroom will have its own bath-dressing room, which one will use and leave without the slightest disarrangement. This, so far as "upstairs" goes, really leaves only bed-making for bedrooms, and a bed does not take five minutes to make. Downstairs, a vast amount of needless labor at present arises out of table ware. "Washing up" consists of a tedious cleansing and wiping of each table utensil in turn, whereas it should be possible to immerse all dirty table ware in a suitable solvent for a few minutes, and then run that off for the articles to dry. The application of solvents to window cleaning, also, would be a possible thing, but for the primitive construction of our windows, which prevents anything but a painful rub, rub, rub with the leather. A friend of mine in domestic service tells me that this rubbing is to get the window dry, and that seems to be the general impression, but I think it incorrect. The water is not an adequate solvent, and enough cannot be used under existing conditions. Consequently, if the window is cleaned and left wet, it dries in drops, and these drops contain dirt in solution which remains as spots. But water, containing a suitable solvent, could be made to run quite simply down a window for a few minutes, from pinholes in a pipe above into a groove below, and this could be followed by pure rain water for an equal time; and, in this way, the whole window cleaning in the house could, I imagine, be reduced to the business of turning on a tap. There remains the cooking. To-day, cooking with its incidentals is a very serious business; the coaling, the ashes, the horrible moments of heat, the hot, black things to handle, the silly, vague recipes, the want of neat apparatus, and the want of intelligence to demand or use neat apparatus. One always imagines a cook working with a crimsoned face and bare, blackened arms. But with a neat little range, heated by electricity, and provided with thermometer, with absolutely controllable temperatures and proper heat screens, cooking might very easily be made a pleasant amusement for intelligent invalid ladies. Which reminds one, by the bye, as an added detail to our previous sketch of the scenery of the days to come, that there will be no chimneys at all

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to the house of the future of this type, except the flue for the kitchen smells.

I do not know how long all these things will take to arrive. The erection of a series of experimental labor-saving houses by some philanthropic person, for exhibition and discussion, would certainly bring about a very extraordinary advance in domestic comfort, even in the immediate future, but the fashions in philanthropy do not trend in such practical directions; if they did, the philanthropic person would probably be too amenable to flattery to escape the pushful patentee, and too sensitive to avail himself of criticism (which rarely succeeds in being both penetrating and polite); and it will probably be many years before the cautious enterprise of advertising firms approximates to the economies that are theoretically possible to-day. But, certainly, the engineering and medical sorts of person will be best able to appreciate the possibilities of cutting down the irksome labors of the contemporary home, and most likely first to secure them.

The wife of this ideal home may probably have a certain distaste for vicarious labor, that, so far as the immediate minimum of duties goes, will probably carry her through them. There will be few servants obtainable for the small homes of the future, and that may strengthen her sentiments. Hardly any woman seems to object to a system of things which provides that another woman should be made rough-handed and kept rough-minded for her sake; but with the enormous diffusion of levelling information that is going on, a perfectly valid objection will probably come from the other side in this transaction. The servants of the past and the only good servants of to-day are the children of servants, or the children of the old labor base of the social pyramid, until recently a necessary and self-respecting element in the State. Machinery has smashed that base and scattered its fragments; the tradition of self-respecting inferiority is being utterly destroyed in the world. The contingents of the Abyss, even, will not supply daughters for this purpose. In the Northern of the United States, no native-born race of white servants has appeared, and the emaciated young negress degenerates towards the impossible—which is one of the many stimulants to small ingenuities that may help very powerfully to give that nation the industrial leadership of the world. The servant of the future, if, indeed, she should still linger in the small household, will be a per-

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son alive to a social injustice, and the unsuccessful rival of the wife. Such servants as wealth will retain will be about as really loyal and servile as hotel waiters, and on the same terms. For the middling sort of people in the future, maintaining a separate *ménage,* there is nothing for it but the practically automatic house or flat, supplemented by the restaurant or the hotel.

Almost certainly, for reasons detailed in the previous paper of these Anticipations, this household, if it is an ideal type, will be situated away from the central "town" nucleus and in pleasant surroundings. And I imagine that the sort of woman who would be mother and mistress of such a home would not be perfectly content unless there were a garden about the house. On account of the servant difficulty, again, it would probably be less laboriously neat than any of our gardens to-day—no bedding out, for example, and a certain parsimony of mown lawn.

To such a type of home, it seems, the active, scientifically trained people will tend. And usually, I think, the prophet is inclined to overestimate the number of people who will reach this condition of affairs in a generation or so, and to underestimate the conflicting tendencies that will make its attainment difficult to all and impossible to many, and that will tint and blotch the achievement of those who succeed with patches of unsympathetic and antagonistic color. To understand just how modifications may come in, it is necessary to consider the probable line of development of another of the four main elements in the social body of the coming time. As a consequence and visible expression of the great new growth of share and stock property, there will be scattered through the whole social body, concentrated here, perhaps, and diffused there, but everywhere perceived, the members of that new class of the irresponsible wealthy, a class, as I have already pointed out in the preceding paper, miscellaneous and free to a degree quite unprecedented in any class in the world's history. Quite inevitably, great sections of this miscellany will develop characteristics almost diametrically opposed to those of the typical, working expert class, and their gravitation may influence the lives of this more efficient, finally more powerful, but at present much less wealthy class to a very considerable degree of intimacy.

The rich shareholder and the skilled expert must necessarily be sharply contrasted types, and of the two, it must be borne in

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mind, it is the rich shareholder who spends the money. While occupation and skill incline one towards severity and economy, leisure and unlimited means involve relaxation and demand the adventitious interest of decoration. The shareholder will be the decorative influence in the state. So far as there will be a typical shareholder's house, we may hazard that it will have rich colors, elaborate hangings, stained glass, adornments and added interests in great abundance. This "leisure class" will certainly employ the greater proportion of the artists, decorators, fabric makers and the like of the coming time. It will dominate the world of art—and we may say, with some confidence, that it will influence it in certain directions. For example, standing apart from the movement of the world, as they will do to a very large extent, the archaic, opulently done, will appeal irresistibly to very many of these irresponsible rich, as the very quintessence of art. They will come to art with uncritical, cultured minds, full of past achievements, ignorant of present necessities. Art will be something added to life—something stuck on and richly reminiscent—not a manner pervading all real things. We may be pretty sure that very few will grasp the fact that an iron bridge or a railway engine may be artistically done—these will not be "art" objects, but hostile novelties. And, on the other hand, we can pretty confidently foretell a spacious future, and much amplification for that turgid, costly and deliberately anti-contemporary group of styles of which William Morris and his associates have been the fortunate pioneers. And the same principles will apply to costume. A non-functional class of people cannot have a functional costume; the whole scheme of costume, as it will be worn by the wealthy classes in the coming years, will necessarily be of that character which is called fancy dress. Few people will trouble themselves to discover the most convenient forms and materials, and endeavor to simplify them and reduce them to beautiful forms; while endless enterprising tradesmen will be alert for a perpetual succession of striking novelties. The women will ransack the ages for becoming and alluring anachronisms, the men will appear in the elaborate uniforms of "games," in modifications of court dress, in picturesque revivals of national costumes, in epidemic fashions, of the most astonishing sort.

Now, these people, so far as they are spenders of money, and so far as he is a spender of money, will stand to this ideal

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engineering sort of person, who is the vitally important citizen of a progressive scientific state, in a competitive relation. In most cases, whenever there is something that both want, one against the other, the shareholder will get it; in most cases, where it is a matter of calling the time, the shareholder will call the time. For example, the young architect, conscious of exceptional ability, will have more or less clearly before him the alternatives of devoting himself to the novel, intricate and difficult business of designing cheap, simple and mechanically convenient homes for people who will certainly not be highly remunerative, and will probably be rather acutely critical, or of perfecting himself in some period of romantic architecture, or striking out some startling and attractive novelty of manner or material which will be certain, sooner or later, to meet its congenial shareholder. Even if he hovers for a time between these alternatives, he will need to be a person not only of exceptional gifts, but, what is by no means a common accompaniment of exceptional gifts, exceptional strength of character, to take the former line. Consequently, for many years yet, most of the experimental buildings and novel designs that initiate discussion and develop the general taste will be done primarily to please the more originative shareholders, and not to satisfy the demands of our engineer or doctor; and the strictly commercial builders who will cater for all but the wealthiest, engineers, scientific investigators and business men being unable to afford specific designs, will (amidst the disregarded curses of these more intelligent customers) still simply reproduce, in a cheaper and mutilated form, such examples as happen to be set. Practically, that is to say, the shareholder will buy up almost all the available architectural talent.

This modifies our conception of the outer appearance of that little house we imagined. Unless it happens to be the house of an exceptionally prosperous member of the utilitarian professions, it will lack something of the neat directness implicit in our description, something of that inevitable beauty that arises out of the perfect attainment of ends—for many years at any rate. It will almost certainly be tinted, it may even be saturated, with the second-hand archaic. The owner may object—but a busy man cannot stop his life-work to teach architects what they ought to know. It may be heated electrically, but it will have sham chimneys, in whose darkness, unless they are built solid, dust and

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filth will gather. It may have automatic window-cleaning arrangements, but they will be hidden by cheap mullions. Just that shabby shirking of the truth of things that has given the world such stock-broker-in-armor affairs as the Tower Bridge and historical romance, will, I fear, worry the over-lucid mind in a great multitude of the homes that the opening half, at least, of this century will produce.

In quite a similar way, the shareholding body will buy up all the clever and more enterprising makers and designers of clothing and adornment; he will set the fashion of almost all ornament, in bookbinding and printing and painting, for example, furnishing, and, indeed, of almost all things that are not primarily produced "for the million," as the phrase goes. And when that sort of thing comes in, then, so far as the trained and intelligent type of man goes, for many years yet it will be simply a case of the nether instead of the upper millstone. Just how far the influence and contagion of the shareholding mass will reach into this imaginary household of non-shareholding efficients, and just how far the influence of science and mechanism will penetrate the minds and methods of the rich becomes really one of the most important questions with which these speculations will deal. For this argument, that he will perhaps be able to buy up the architect and the tailor and the decorator and so forth, is merely preliminary to the graver issue. It is just possible that the shareholder, to a very large extent, may—in a certain figurative sense, at least—buy up much of the womankind that would otherwise be available to constitute those severe, capable and probably by no means unhappy little establishments to which our typical engineers will tend, and so prevent many women from becoming the mothers of a regenerating world. The huge secretion of irresponsible wealth by the social organism is certain to affect the tone of thought of the entire feminine sex profoundly; the exact nature of this influence we may now consider.

The gist of this enquiry lies in the fact that, while a man's starting position in this world of to-day is entirely determined by the conditions of his birth and early training, and his final position is the slow, elaborate outcome of his own sustained efforts to live, a woman, from the age of sixteen onward, as the world goes now, is essentially adventurous, the creature of circumstances largely beyond her control and foresight. A virile man, though

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he, too, is subject to accidents, may upon most points hope to plan and determine his life; the life of a woman is all accident. Normally, she lives in relation to some specific man; and, until that man is indicated, her preparation for life must be of the most tentative sort. She lives going nowhere, like a cabman on the crawl; and, at any time, she may find it open to her to assist some pleasure-loving millionaire to spend his millions, or to play her part in one of the many real, original and only derivatives of the former aristocratic "Society" that have developed themselves among independent people. Even if she is a serious and labor-loving type, some shareholder may tempt her with the prospect of developing her exceptional personality in ease and freedom, and in "doing good" with his money. With the continued growth of the shareholding class, the brighter-looking matrimonial chances, not to speak of the glittering opportunities that are not matrimonial, will increase. Reading is now the privilege of all classes; there are few secrets of etiquette that a clever lower-class girl will fail to learn; there are few such girls, even now, who are not aware of their wide opportunities, or at least their wide possibilities of luxury and freedom; there are still fewer who, knowing as much, do not let it affect their standards and conception of life. The whole mass of modern fiction written by women for women, indeed down to the cheapest novelettes, is saturated with the romance of mésalliance. And, even when the specific man has appeared, the adventurous is still not shut out of a woman's career. A man's affections may wander capriciously, and leave him but a little poorer or a little better placed; for the women they wander from, however, the issue is an infinitely graver one, and the serious wandering of a woman's fancy may mean the beginning of a new world. At any moment, the chances of death may make the wife a widow, may sweep out of existence all that she had made fundamental in her life, may enrich her with insurance profits or hurl her into poverty, and restore all the drifting expectancy of her adolescence.

Now, it is difficult to say why we should expect the growing girl, in whom unlimited ambition and egotism are as natural and proper as beauty and high spirits, to deny herself some dalliance with the more opulent dreams that form the golden lining to these precarious prospects. How can we expect her to prepare herself solely, putting all wandering thoughts aside, for the serv-

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antless cookery, domestic kindergarten work, the care of hardy perennials, and low-pitched conversation of the engineer's home? Supposing, after all, there is no predestinate engineer! The stories the growing young girl now prefers, and, I imagine, will in the future still prefer, deal mainly with the rich and free; the theatre she will prefer to visit will present the lives and loves of opulent people, with great precision and detailed correctness; her favorite periodicals will reflect that life; her school-mistress, whatever her principles, must have an eye to her "chances." And, even after fate or a gust of passion has whirled her into the arms of our busy and capable fundamental man, all these things will still be in her imagination and memory. Unless he is a person of extraordinary mental prepotency, she will almost insensibly determine the character of the home in a direction quite other than that of our first sketch. She will set herself to realize, as far as her husband's means and credit permit, the ideas of the particular section of the wealthy that have captured her. If she is a fool, her ideas of life will presently come into complete conflict with her husband's, in a manner that, as the fumes of the love potion leave his brain, may bring the real nature of the case home to him. If he is of that resolute strain to whom this world must finally come, he may rebel, and wade through tears and crises to his appointed work again. The cleverer she is, and the finer and more loyal her character up to a certain point, the less likely this is to happen, the more subtle and effective will be her hold upon her husband, and the more probable his perversion from the austere pursuit of some interesting employment towards the adventures of modern money getting in pursuit of her ideals of a befitting life. And, meanwhile, since "one must live," the nursery, that was implicit in the background of the first picture, will probably prove unnecessary. She will be, perforce, a person not only of pleasant pursuits, but of leisure. If she endears herself to her husband, he will feel not only the attraction but the duty of her vacant hours; he will not only deflect his working hours from the effective to the profitable, but that occasional burning of the midnight oil that no brain-worker may forego if he is to retain his efficiency, will, in the interests of some attractive theatrical performance, or some agreeable social occasion, all too frequently have to be put off or abandoned.

This line of speculation, therefore, gives us a second picture

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of a household to put beside our first—a household, or rather a couple, rather more likely to be typical of the mass of middling sort of people in these urban regions of the future, than our first projection. It will probably not live in a separate home at all, but in a flat in "town," or at one of the subordinate centres of the urban region we have foreseen. The apartments will be more or less agreeably adorned, in some decorative fashion akin to, but less costly than, some of the many fashions that will obtain among the wealthy. They will be littered with a miscellaneous literature, novels of an entertaining and stimulating sort predominating, and with bric-a-brac—in a childless household there must certainly be quaint dolls, pet images and so forth, and perhaps a canary would find a place. I suspect there would be an edition or so of Omar about in this more typical household of "Modernes," but I doubt about the Bible. The man's working books would probably be shabby, and relegated to a small study, and even these overlaid by abundant copies of the *Financial*—something or other. It would still be a servantless household, and probably not only without a nursery, but without a kitchen; and, in its grade and degree, it would probably have social relations, directly or intermediately through rich friends, with some section, some one of the numerous cults, of the quite independent wealthy.

Households quite similar to this would be even more common among those neither independent nor engaged in work of a primarily functional nature, but endeavoring quite ostensibly to acquire wealth by political or business ingenuity and activity; and also among the great multitude of artists, writers and that sort of people—whose works are their children. In comparison with the state of affairs fifty years ago, the child-infested household is already conspicuously rare in these classes.

These are two highly probable *ménages* among the central mass of the people of the coming time. But there will be many others. The *ménage à deux,* one may remark, though it may be without the presence of children, is not necessarily childless. Parentage is certainly part of the pride of many men—though, curiously enough, it does not appear to be felt among modern European married women as any part of their honor. Many men will probably achieve parentage, therefore, who will not succeed in inducing, or who may possibly even be very loath to permit, their wives to undertake at most more than the first beginnings of

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motherhood. From the moment of its birth, unless it is kept as a pet, the child of such marriages will be nourished, taught and built up almost as though it were an orphan; it will have a succession of bottles and foster mothers for body and mind from the very beginning. Side by side with this increasing number of childless homes, therefore, there may develop a system of kindergarten boarding schools. Indeed, to a certain extent, such schools already exist, and it is one of the unperceived contrasts of this and any former time how common such a separation of parents and children becomes. Except in the case of the illegitimate and orphans and the children of impossible (many public-house children, for instance) or wretched homes, boarding schools, until quite recently, were used only for quite big boys and girls. But now, at every seaside town, for example, one sees a multitude of preparatory schools, which are really not simply educational institutions, but supplementary homes. In many cases, these are conducted and very largely staffed by unmarried girls and women, who are, indeed, in effect, assistant mothers. This class of capable schoolmistresses is one of the most interesting social developments of this period. For the most part, they are women who, from emotional fastidiousness, intellectual egotism, or an honest lack of passion, have refused the common lot of marriage, women often of exceptional character and restraint; and it is well that, at any rate, their intelligence and character should not pass fruitlessly out of being. Assuredly, for this type the future has much in store.

There are, however, still other possibilities to be considered in this matter. In these Anticipations, it is impossible to ignore the forces making for a considerable relaxation of the institution of permanent monogamous marriage in the coming years, and a much greater variety of establishments than is suggested by these possibilities within the pale. I guess, without attempting to refer to statistics, that our present society must show a quite unprecedented number and increasing number of male and female celibates—not religious celibates, but people, for the most part, whose standard of personal comfort has such relation to their earning power that they shirk or cannot enter the matrimonial grouping. The institution of permanent monogamous marriage —except in the ideal Roman Catholic community, where it is based on the sanction of an authority which in real Roman Catho-

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lic countries a large proportion of the men decline to obey—is sustained at present entirely by the inertia of custom, and by a number of sentimental and practical considerations, considerations that may very possibly undergo modification in the face of the altered relationship of husband and wife that the present development of childless *ménages* is bringing about. The practical and sustaining reason for monogamy is the stability it gives to the Family; the value of a stable family lies in the orderly upbringing in an atmosphere of affection that it secures in most cases for its more or less numerous children. The monogamous family has indisputably been the civilizing unit of the pre-mechanical civilized state. It must be remembered that, both for husband and wife in most cases, monogamic life marriage involves an element of sacrifice; it is an institution of late appearance in the history of mankind; and it does not completely fit the psychology or physiology of any but very exceptional characters in either sex. For the man, it commonly involves considerable restraint; he must ride his imagination on the curb, or exceed the code in an extremely dishonoring, furtive and unsatisfactory manner, while publicly professing an impossible virtue. For the woman, it commonly implies many uncongenial submissions. There are probably few married couples who have escaped distressful phases of bitterness and tears, within the constraint of their, in most cases, practically insoluble bond. But, on the other hand, and as a reward that in the soberer, mainly agricultural civilization of the past, and among the middling class of people at any rate, has sufficed, there comes the great development of associations and tendernesses that arises out of intimate co-operation in an established Home, and particularly out of the linking love and interest of children's lives.

But how does this fit into the childless, disunited and probably shifting *ménage* of our second picture?

It must be borne in mind that it has been the middling and lower mass of people, the tenants and agriculturalists, the shopkeepers and so forth—men needing, before all things, the absolutely loyal help of wives—that has sustained permanent monogamic marriage whenever it has been sustained. Public monogamy has existed on its merits—that is, on the merits of the wife. Merely ostensible reasons have never sufficed. No sort of religious conviction, without a real practical utility, has ever availed to

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keep classes of men, unhampered by circumstances, to its restrictions. In all times, and holding all sorts of beliefs, the specimen humanity of courts and nobilities is to be found developing the most complex qualifications of the code. In some quiet corner of Elysium, the bishops of the early Georges, the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the contemporary French and Spanish courts, the patriarchs of vanished Byzantium, will find a common topic with the spiritual advisers of the kingdoms of the East, in this difficult theme of the concessions permissible and expedient to earnest believers encumbered with leisure and a superfluity of power. It is not necessary to discuss religious development, therefore, before deciding this issue. We are dealing now with things deeper and forces more powerful than the mere convictions of men.

Will a generation for whom marriage will be no longer necessarily associated with the birth and rearing of children, or with the immediate co-operation and sympathy of husband and wife in common proceedings, retain its present feeling for the extreme sanctity of the permanent bond? Will the agreeable, unemployed, childless woman, with a high conception of her personal rights, who is spending her husband's earnings or income in some pleasant, discrepant manner—a type of woman there are excellent reasons for anticipating will become more frequent—will she continue to share the honors and privileges of the wife, mother and helper of the old dispensation? And, in particular, will the great gulf that is now fixed by custom between her and the agreeable, unmarried lady who is similarly employed, remain so inexorably wide? Charity is in the air, and why should not charming people meet one another? And are either of these ladies to find the support that will enable them to insist upon the monopoly that conventional sentiment, so far as it finds expression, concedes them? The danger to them of the theory of equal liberty is evident enough. On the other hand, in the case of the unmarried mother who may be helped to hold her own or who may be holding her own in the world, where will the moral censor of the year 1950 find his congenial following to gather stones? Much as we may regret it, it does very greatly affect the realities of this matter that, with the increased migration of people from home to home and the large urban regions that we have concluded will certainly obtain in the future, even if moral reprobation and minor social inconveniences do still attach to certain sorts of

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status, it will probably be increasingly difficult to determine the status of people who wish to conceal it for any but criminal ends.

In another direction there must be a movement toward the relaxation of the marriage law and of divorce that will complicate status very confusingly. In the past, it has been possible to sustain several contrasting moral systems in each of the practically autonomous states of the world; but with a development and cheapening of travel and migration that is as yet only in its opening phase, an increasing conflict between dissimilar moral restrictions must appear. Even at present, with only the most prosperous classes of the American and Western European countries migrating at all freely, there is a growing amount of inconvenience arising out of these (from the point of view of social physiology) quite arbitrary differences. A man or woman may, for example, have been the injured party in some conjugal complication, may have established a domicile and divorced the erring spouse in certain of the United States, may have married again there with absolute local propriety, and may be a bigamist and a criminal in England. A child may be a legal child in Denmark or Australia, and a bastard in this austerer climate. These things are, however, only the first intimations of much more profound reactions. Almost all the great European Powers, and the United States also, are extending their boundaries to include great masses of non-Christian, polygamous peoples; and they are permeating these peoples with railways, printed matter and all the stimulants of our present state. With the spread of these conveniences, there is no corresponding spread of Christianity. These people will not always remain in the ring fence of their present regions; their superseded princes and rulers and public masters and managers will presently come to swell the shareholding mass of the appropriating Empire. Europeans, on the other hand, will drift into their districts and under the influence of their customs; intermarriages and interracial reaction will increase; in a world which is steadily abolishing locality, the compromise of local permission, of localized recognition of the "custom of the country," cannot permanently avail. Statesmen will have to face the alternative of either widening the permissible variations of the marriage contract, or of acute racial and religious stresses, of a vast variety of possible legal betrayals, and the appearance of a body of self-respecting people outside the law and public respect,

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a body that will confer a touch of credit upon, because it will share the stigma of, the deliberately dissolute and criminal. And whether the moral law shrivels relatively by mere exclusiveness (as in religious matters the Church of England, for example, has shrivelled to the proportions of a mere sectarian practice), or whether it broadens itself to sustain justice in a variety of sexual contracts, the net result, so far as concerns our present purpose, will be the same. And all these forces, making for moral relaxation in the coming time, will probably be greatly enhanced by the line of development certain sections of the irresponsible wealthy will almost certainly follow.

Let me repeat that the shareholding rich man of the new time is in a position of freedom almost unparalleled in the history of men. He has sold his permission to control and experiment with the material wealth of the community for freedom—for freedom from care, labor, responsibility, custom, local usage and local attachment. He may come back again into public affairs if he likes—that is his private concern. Within the limits of the law and his capacity and courage, he may do as the imagination of his heart directs. Now, such an experimental and imperfect creature as man, a creature urged by such imperious passions, so weak in imagination and controlled by so feeble a reason, receives such absolute freedom as this only at infinite peril. To a great number of these people, in the second or third generation, this freedom will mean vice, the subversion of passion to inconsequent pleasures. We have on record, in the personal history of the Roman Emperors, how freedom and uncontrolled power took one representative group of men, men not entirely of one blood nor of one bias, but reinforced by the arbitrary caprice of adoption and political revolution. We have, in the history of the Russian Empresses, a glimpse of similar feminine possibilities. We are moving towards a time when, through this confusion of moral standards I have foretold, the pressure of public opinion in these matters must be greatly relaxed, when religion will no longer speak with a unanimous voice, and when freedom of escape from disapproving neighbors will be greatly facilitated. In the past, when depravity had a centre about a court, the contagion of its example was limited to the court region, but every idle rich man of this great, various and widely diffused class will play, to a certain extent, the moral rôle of a court. In these days of universal read-

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ing and vivid journalism, every infraction of the code will be known of, thought about, and more or less thoroughly discussed by an enormous and increasing proportion of the common people. In the past, it has been possible for the Churches to maintain an attitude of respectful regret toward the lapses of the great, and even to assist in these lapses with a seemly privacy, while maintaining a wholesome rigor towards vulgar vice. But, in the coming time, there will be no Great, but many rich; the middling sort of people will probably be better educated, as a whole, than the rich, and the days of their differential treatment are at an end.

It is foolish, in view of all these things, not to anticipate and prepare for a state of things when, not only will moral standards be shifting and uncertain, admitting of physiologically sound *ménages* of every variable status, but also when vice and depravity, in every form that is not absolutely penal, will be practised in every grade of magnificence and condoned. This means that not only will status cease to be simple and become complex and varied, but that, outside the system of *ménages* that are now recognized and under the disguise of which all other *ménages* shelter, there will be a vast drifting and unstable population grouped in almost every conceivable form of relation. The world of Georgian England was a world of Homes; the world of the coming time will still have its Homes, its real Mothers, the custodians of the human succession, and its cared for children, the inheritors of the future; but, in addition to this Home world, frothing tumultuously over and amidst these stable rocks, there will be this enormous complex of establishments and hotels and sterile households and flats, and all the elaborate furnishing and appliances of a luxurious extinction.

And since, in the present social chaos, there does not yet exist any considerable body of citizens—comparable to the agricultural and commercial middle class of England during the period of limited monarchy—that will be practically unanimous in upholding any body of rules of moral restraint; since there will probably not appear for some generations any body propounding, with wide-reaching authority, a new, definitely different code to replace the one that is now likely to be increasingly disregarded, it follows that the present code, with a few interlined qualifications and grudging legal concessions, will remain nominally operative in sentiment and practice, while being practically disregarded,

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glossed over or replaced in numberless directions. It must be pointed out that, in effect, what is here forecast for questions of *ménage* and moral restraints has already happened to a very large extent in religious matters. There was a time when it was held—and I think rightly—that a man's religious beliefs, and particularly his method of expressing them, was a part not of his individual but of his social life; for surely no one can have any real right to promulgate nonsense affecting action. But the great upheavals of the Reformation resulted finally in a compromise, a sort of truce, that has put religious belief very largely out of intercourse and discussion. It is conceded that, within the bounds of the general peace and security, a man may believe and express his belief in matters of religion as he pleases; not because it is better so, but because, for the present epoch, there is no way nor hope of attaining unanimous truth. There is a decided tendency, that will, I believe, prevail, towards the same compromise in the question of private morals. There is a convention to avoid all discussion of creeds in general social intercourse; and a similar convention to avoid the point of status in relation to marriage, one may very reasonably anticipate, will be similarly recognized.

But this impending dissolution of a common standard of morals does not mean universal depravity until some great reconstruction obtains, any more than the obsolescence of the Conventicle Act means universal irreligion. It means that, for one Morality, there will be many moralities. Each human being will, in the face of circumstances, work out his or her particular early training as his or her character determines. And, although there will be a general convention upon which the most diverse people will meet, it will only be with persons who have come to identical or similar conclusions in the matter of moral conduct, and who are living in similar *ménages,* just as now it is only with people whose conversation implies a certain community or kinship of religious belief that really frequent and intimate intercourse will go on. In other words, there will be a process of moral segregation set up. Indeed, such a process is probably already in operation, amidst the deliquescent social mass. People will be drawn together into little groups of similar *ménages* having much in common. And this—in view of the considerations advanced in the preceding article of this series, considerations all converging on the practical abolition of distances and the general freedom

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of people to live anywhere they like over large areas—will mean very frequently an actual local segregation. There will be districts that will be clearly recognized and marked as "nice," fast regions; areas of ramshackle Bohemianism; regions of earnest and active work, old-fashioned corners and Hill Tops. Whole regions will be set aside for the purposes of opulent enjoyment—a thing already happening along the Riviera to-day.

People who live in the good hunting country and about the glittering Grand Stand, will no longer even pretend to live under the same code as those picturesque musical people who have concentrated on the canoe-dotted river. Where the promenaders gather, and the bands are playing, and the pretty little theatres compete, the pleasure seeker will be seeking such pleasure as he pleases, no longer debased by furtiveness and innuendo, going his primrose path to a congenial, picturesque, happy and highly desirable extinction. Just over the hills, perhaps, a handful of opulent shareholders will be pleasantly preserving the old traditions of a landed aristocracy, with servants, tenants, vicar and other dependents all complete; and what, from the point of view of social physiology, will really be an assorted contingent of the Abyss, but all nicely washed and done good to, will pursue home industries in model cottages in a quite old English and exemplary manner. Here the windmills will spin and the waterfalls be trapped to gather force, and the quiet-eyed master of the machinery will have his office and, perhaps, his private home. Here, about the great college and its big laboratories, there will be men and women reasoning and studying; and here, where the homes thicken among the ripe gardens, one will hear the laughter of children, the singing of children in their schools, and see their little figures going to and fro amidst the trees and flowers.

And these segregations, based primarily on a difference in moral ideas and pursuits and ideals, will probably round off and complete themselves at last as distinct and separate cultures. As the moral ideas realize themselves in *ménage* and habits, so the ideals will seek to find expression in a literature, and the passive drifting together will pass ever into a phase of more or less conscious and intentional organization. The segregating groups will develop fashions of costume, types of manners and bearing, and even perhaps be characterized by a certain type of facial expression. And this gives us a glimpse of a curious aspect of the

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future of literature. The kingdoms of the past were little things; and above the mass of peasants, who lived and obeyed and died, there was just one little culture to which all must needs conform. Literature was universal within the limits of its language. Where difference of view arose, there were violent controversies, polemics and persecutions, until one or other rendering had won its ascendency. But this new world into which we are passing will, for many generations at least, albeit it will be freely intercommunicating and like a whispering gallery for things outspoken, possesses no universal ideals, no universal conventions; there will be the literature, thought and effort of this sort of people, and the literature, thought and effort of that.* Life is already most wonderfully arbitrary and experimental, and for the coming century this must be its essential social history, a great drifting and unrest of people, a shifting and regrouping and breaking up again of groups, great multitudes seeking to find themselves.

The safe life in the old order, where one did this because it was right, and that because it was the custom, when one shunned this and hated that, as lead runs into a mould, all that is passing away. And presently, as the new century opens out, there will become more and more distinctly emergent many new cultures and settled ways. The gray expanse of life to-day is gray not in its essence, but because of the minute, confused mingling and mutual cancelling of many colored lives. Presently these lines and shades will gather together here as a mass of one color and there as a mass of another. And as these colors intensify and the tradition of the former order fades, as these cultures become

* Already this is becoming apparent enough. The literary "Boom," for example, affected the entire reading public of the early nineteenth century; it was a figure of speech that "everyone" was reading Byron, or puzzling about the Waverley mystery, that first and most successful use of the unknown author dodge. The booming of Dickens, too, forced him even into the reluctant hands of Omar's Fitzgerald. But the factory-syren voice of the modern "boomster" touches whole sections of the reading public no more than foghorns going down the Channel. One would as soon think of Skinner's Soap for one's library, as So and So's Hundred Thousand Copy Success. Instead of "everyone" talking of the Great New Book, quite considerable numbers are shamelessly admitting they don't read that sort of thing. One gets used to literary booms, just as one gets used to motor cars; they are no longer marvellous, universally significant things, but merely something that goes by with much unnecessary noise and leaves a faint offence in the air. Distinctly, we segregate. And while no one dominates, while, for all this bawling, there are really no great authors of imperial dimensions—indeed, no great successes to compare with the Waverley boom or the boom of Macaulay's History—many men, too fine, too subtle, too aberrant, too unusually fresh for any but exceptional readers, men who would probably have failed to get a hearing at all in the past, can now subsist quite happily with the little sect they have found, or that has found them. They live safely in their islands; a little while ago they could not have lived at all, and yet it is most often these very men who are most covetously bitter against the order of the present day.

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more and more shaped and conscious, as the new literatures grow in substance and power, as differences develop from speculative matter of opinion to definite intentions, as contrasts and affinities grow sharper and clearer, there must follow some very extensive modifications in the collective public life. But one series of tints, one color, must needs have a heightening value amidst this iridescent display. While the forces at work in the wealthy and purely speculative groups of society make for disintegration, and in many cases for positive elimination, the forces that bring together the really functional people will tend more and more to impose upon them certain common characteristics and beliefs, and the discovery of a group of similar and compatible class interests upon which they can unite. The practical people, the engineering and medical and scientific people, will become more and more homogeneous in their fundamental culture, more and more distinctively aware of a common general reason in things, and of a common difference from the less functional masses and from any sort of people in the past. They will have, in their positive science, a common ground for understanding the real pride of life, the real reason for the incidental nastiness of vice; they will be a sanely reproductive class and, above all, an educating class. Just how much they will have kept or changed of the deliquescent morality of to-day, when in a hundred years or so they do distinctively and powerfully emerge, I cannot speculate now. They will certainly be a moral people. They will have developed the literature of their needs, they will have discussed and tested and thrashed out many things, they will be clear where we are confused, resolved where we are undecided and weak. In the districts of industrial possibility, in the healthier quarters of the town regions, apart from the swamps and away from the glare of the midnight lights, these people will be gathered together. They will be linked in professions through the agency of great and sober papers. The best of the wealthy will gravitate to their attracting centres. Unless some great catastrophe break down all that man has built, these great, kindred groups of capable men and educated, adequate women must be the element finally emergent amidst the vast confusion of the coming time.

H. G. WELLS.

(To be continued.)

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CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITY.

BY HIS EMINENCE, CARDINAL GIBBONS.

ONE of the most ancient images of the Christian Church is that of a ship tossed about on the waves, yet never sinking. This image was painted more than once on the walls of the Roman Catacombs, precisely when it seemed as if Christianity could not possibly hold out much longer against the impact of social and juridical forces that had sworn its extermination. Nevertheless, the Fisherman of Galilee, with his brethren, survived this first great hurricane of opposition, and planted the victorious symbol of the new religion on the Capitol and the Palatine—over the shrine of Roman religion, and amid the councils of the Roman state. On the morrow of this first great reckoning of the new spirit in mankind with the old established forms of belief and government, a tremor of astonishment seized on the priests and philosophers of the pagan world, that an obscure Syrian sect should have at last lifted a triumphant head. It seemed as though all the *criteria* of mankind—common sense, logic, reason, history, analogy—were at once and hopelessly shattered, and a wonder-world set up in the place of the familiar realities of society. It is an old story how the few remaining pagans hoped against hope, until they saw the fall of the whole fabric of Western civilization, and the figure of a Universal Church interposed between organized society and the elemental forces of barbarism that threatened it from the North and East. In those all-embracing arms, the world of Greece and Rome, that thought to perish doubly, was firmly seized and made to live again.

Since that day, Christianity has dominated all modern history. Its morality, based on the loving kindness of an Eternal Father and the mystic brotherhood with the God-Man, has renovated the face of the earth. It has set firmly the corner-stone for all future

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civilization, the conviction of a common humanity that has been deeply rooted in us by no stoicism, but by the story of Jesus Christ and by the lives and deaths of countless Christian men and women. It has clarified at once the sense of sin and the reasons for hope. It has touched the deepest springs of efficient conviction; preached successfully, in season and out of season, of mercy and justice and peace; affected intimately every function of domestic life; thrown a sheltering veil of sanctity about maid and mother and home; stood out against the fierce ambitions and illicit loves of rulers, and the low passions of the multitude. It has healed and cleansed whole legislations, and "filled out with a vivifying spirit" the noble but inorganic letter of great maxims that a Seneca or an Epictetus might utter, but could not cause to live. It has distinctly raised the social and civil life of all civilized humankind. It bears within itself the antidote of a certain divine presence, whereby it overcomes forever those germs of decay and change that cause the death of all other societies. Its earliest writers and exponents had a subtle sense of its true character, when they took over from paganism, and applied to the work of Jesus, the symbolic myth of the phœnix, emblem of a native, organic and indestructible vitality.

If we believe the eminent statistician, Mr. Michael G. Mulhall, the population of the world in 1898 was 1,450 millions. Of these, 764,500,000 were yet pagans, nearly all located in Asia (667,-800,000) and in Africa (91,000,000). In Europe, there are none who can be officially described as pagans; in Oceanica there are 4,400,000, and in America, 1,300,000. Therefore, on its oldest and most favorable field, the only tenable forms of paganism have gone down absolutely before the shining of Christian truth, a symbol of what we may hope for in the future over the two continents yet addicted to paganism. The Christians of the world number 501,600,000, of whom 348,500,000 belong to Europe, 126,400,000 to America, with a scattering of 12,600,000 in Asia, 4,400,000 in Africa, 9,700,000 in Oceanica. That is, the most enlightened and progressive portion of the Old World, Europe, with its noble adult daughter in the New World, is still entirely Christian, after nearly sixteen centuries of external struggle against the forces of barbarism and Islam, and internal struggles of the deepest and most momentous nature. As the future of humanity rests henceforth in the hands of the men who

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guide, politically and intellectually, the society of Europe and the New World of North and South America, I cannot but see in this distribution and preponderance of the Christian masses an omen of great hopefulness for the future of the religion of Jesus Christ. I know that there is not now that absolute unity of the Christian multitudes that once existed and is yet the necessary, indispensable, ideal condition of that religion. I shall come directly to this fundamental point. But I feel justified in believing that, among these five hundred millions of Christians, there are rough, imperfect, unfinished unities of tradition, practice and spirit; that they all look up to the Son of Mary as the Redeemer of Humanity; that He marks for them the true line of delimitation between the Old and the New; that in and through Him is the firm bond of union that holds us all to a common Father, a Giver of all good things, and a purifying, inflaming Spirit, that acts in a manifold but mystic manner on all who have in any way confessed that Jesus Christ is True God and True Man.

Were this unity perfect among Christians, there can be no doubt that long since the whole world would have been won over to the Gospel of Jesus, that its sweet influences would have transmuted all the hardness and imperfections of our common humanity, by lifting us all into that higher spiritual sphere of brotherhood with the Redeemer of our souls, and sonship with the Head of our race. It is this lack of unity among Christians that makes it even possible for any other religion, old or new, to set up a comparison with it, to challenge its immortal titles to admiration and acceptance. For lack of unity, the impact of the missionary labors is broken, and the incredible sacrifices of Christian men and women must be repeated, often in vain, from generation to generation. This defect of our Christianity it is which enables the savage man, as well as the man of a foreign culture, to escape the arguments and appeals of the Christian apostle. It also renders almost nugatory the efforts of Christianity, on its original soil, to dominate even the most tangible forces of the world and the devil.

The life and teaching of Jesus Christ Himself have nothing but victories to chronicle since His appearance among men. Every century is a new campaign from which He returns to the Heavenly Father, crowned with innumerable laurels, and leading captive innumerable multitudes of human souls. The records of history

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are full of the most astonishing conquests by Him of individual souls, voluntary submissions to the irresistible charm of the Son of Man. There is no altitude of intellect so towering that it has not bent before Him, no seat of power so high that it has not done homage to Him. Philosophy and Criticism, History and the Natural Sciences, have sent over to Him, without ceasing, their noblest worthies as pledges of victory. To go no farther back than the century just elapsed, we may say that every page of its annals is bright with the illustrious names of great men who have been proud to confess the Divinity of Jesus. Some of them never knew a wavering of allegiance; others came back to Him by a kind of postliminary process, having learned by hard experience the truth of the apostolic cry of Saint Peter: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."* From this point of view, there is never any diminution of the work of Jesus Christ. His benign and gracious figure dominates forever all life and society. Scarcely, indeed, was He known to the world when we are told that He won the personal admiration of great Roman emperors like Tiberius and Hadrian and Alexander Severus. Sweet legends of the veneration of an Augustus and an Abgar cling forever to His person—symbols of that constant self-surrender in love and adoration which has gone on since then, and will cease no more.

What is the secret of this constant and cosmopolitan devotion to Jesus? From what deep springs of history and human nature do the forces flow that keep it forever alive, in spite of the multitudinous accidents of time and space and change that affect so thoroughly all other phenomena of life? *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.* It can be no slight bond that holds forever such elastic and elusive forces as the minds and hearts of men, in varying epochs and lands, periods, forms and degrees of culture. To all Catholics, it is as simple as the sun that shines in the heavens, or as the air we breathe.

To us, the religion of Jesus Christ—for we maintain, on the authority of the gospels, that He founded a religion—is no vague resultant of world-forces that found their proper time and suitable expression in the Son of Mary. Indeed, the first great domestic struggle of the new religion was against just those loose, nuclear forces of Gnosticism and Eclecticism that desired to fasten their

*John vi., 68.

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dying causes to the vigorous young body of Christian Faith, but which she repelled with clear consciousness of their desire and of her repugnance. To us, Christianity is no philosophy, however elevated and potent, but a divine thing in the sense of an immediate, positive revelation. Hence, in its earliest documents, it is known as "The Name," "The Work," "The Manifestation" of an Omnipotent Divine Will, the closest and sublimest bond that can unite the Divinity with mankind. From among the philosophers of the world, there could never come a Redeemer. And this is precisely what we welcome in Jesus Christ, the figure and the office of a Divine Atoner for the sins of the world, the Saviour of mankind from the inherited and actual burden of sin.

Hence it is that Christianity is the most intensely personal of all religions. It presumes, as no other, the unwavering belief in and concern for an immortal and responsible individual soul, the confession of an Omniscient and All-Just Judge, a known and possible code of conduct, and a clearly-apprehended sanction that waits upon the violation or neglect of that code. The ideal of the individual Christian is the Imitation of Jesus Christ, "the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, * * * * the head of all principality and power * * * * for in Him dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead corporally."* And, inasmuch as He realizes in His own person and circle of influence this sublime model, Christianity may be said to live or die for Him.

But how shall the individual follower of Jesus know His will, and, knowing it, follow it perfectly? For this purpose, Jesus formed a visible society, destined to embrace all who would accept Him as God and Master. He gave it the power to reproduce and continue itself, and conveyed to it the custody of His teaching and the example of His life, with vicarious authority to interpret both in time of need, and to decide with finality. To its court of appeal, He indicated not only the letter but the spirit of its procedure. He assured this society of His helpful presence forever, and also of the direction and guidance of the Holy Spirit. He foretold for it a career of great trial and sorrow, but also foreshadowed for it periods of triumph and glory. But, above all, He imposed on it the absolute condition of Unity. This is evident, not only from all His devices of constitution and description throughout the gospels, but, in a very particular manner, from the

*Coloss., i., 15; ii., 9, 10.

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great lyrical, almost dithyrambic, monologue in which, on the eve of His Atonement, He pours forth the very soul of prayer to the Heavenly Father.* Here the underlying *motif* is Unity, that shadow of the Divine Life, the condition of the new sanctity, the mark and proof of genuine Christianity:

"And not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in me:
That they all may be one, as thou, Father, in me, and I in thee: that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.
And the glory which thou hast given me, I have given to them: that they may be one, as we also are one."

Elsewhere, He insists that there shall be one fold and one shepherd, that whoever gathers not with Him scattereth, that whoever receives His disciples "receives me and Him who sent me." There can be no doubt, then, as to an effective will of Jesus that this society should be one to the end of time, and among all kinds and conditions of men. It was also to be holy and stainless, imperishable and all-glorious, self-identical and self-witnessing; but the note of unity predominates throughout. His prophetic soul forecasts and denounces every attempt to rend this unity, as the chief obstacle to the success of His life and teaching among men, as the great stumbling block, the creators of which He will hold eminently responsible in the last great accounting.

Now, when we enter upon the last century of the mystic cycle of two thousand years during which the gospel of Jesus has been preached, principally by and through this society which is His Holy Church,† we seize with a terrible earnestness and directness the meaning of Christ's language about unity. Just as that note dominates all others in the gospels, so does its infringement or diminution dominate the history of His Church, the public propagation of His saving and consoling teachings. The avowedly anti-Christian forces of the past two centuries could never have scored their triumphs were it not for the mighty cleft that divided Protestant from Catholic Christendom. While conflict ran high as to the points on which they differed, the enemy was pillaging such parts of the original estate as they yet held in common. The Christian Church was, truly, the mother of all modern happiness and liberty; yet a minority of rebels or apostates was allowed

*John, xvii., 20-23.
†Eph., v., 27.

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to set aside her claims, to contaminate all the sources of public and private education, to enlist against her the literature and the arts that she had saved and cherished in a night of storm and disaster. And all this, because centuries of unhappy division had accustomed both Catholics and Protestants to look to one another only for suspicion and coldness and uncharity. Truly, the divine eye of Jesus saw well through the ages, and what He saw could only have intensified His will to base His Church upon a rock of unity that could not be overthrown. Could we restore to-day the former unity of all Christian peoples, with what ease we could look forth to the lifting of China to the highest plane of Christian welfare and culture! Could we be once more as in the fifteenth century, with what ease could the gospel of the Prince of Peace be preached throughout Africa from the lips of united brethren, and not amid the horrors of injustice and war that are leaving their ominous, red tracks across every newly opened land! So, too, if there were again the old-time unity of East and West, what a quickening there could be of the slumbering forces of the Greek Church, and what a useful race the Coptic Christians would be for the evangelization of Darkest Africa! Whatever way we look, the functions of Unity seem so great and valuable that all the reasons which in the past operated to destroy it are pushed into the background, as no longer worthy of consideration. Indeed, as time wears on, and men take a broader and more philosophic view of things, it will be seen that each individual schism or heresy was less necessary or justifiable, in the light of the magnificent horizon of possible efforts and enterprises that is now dawning upon us, but to which we are unable to reach by reason of our lack of thorough and durable unity. Can any genuine Christian contemplate with equanimity the sad results that the Monophysitism of the fifth and sixth centuries has entailed upon the Churches of the Orient by its substantial contribution to the success of Islam, and thereby upon all Christian society, mediæval and modern? There is in all such cases an encysting of the general Christian spirit and strength, a gradual hardening and crystallizing of all those currents of enthusiasm and daring that once poured in from the great main flow of Christian grace, a steady uplifting of walls of separation that can only render more narrow, if in some cases more deep and intense, the tides of Christian life, thought, endeavor.

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To the Catholic, the Unity of the Church, that especial desire of Jesus Christ, is based upon the Rock of Peter. He finds the reasons for his belief in the Petrine headship of the Apostolic College, in the special promises and privileges accorded to Peter by Our Lord, in the peculiar activity of Peter and the pre-eminence that he obtains in the inspired records of primitive Christian life. No other See than that of Peter ever laid claim to a hegemony over Christianity, while, from the earliest days, that See claimed this supreme ascendency. The last chapters of St. Clement's epistle to the Corinthians (*circa* A. D., 96), the almost contemporary epistle of St. Ignatius of Antioch to the Romans, the famous description by St. Irenaeus of the Roman Church as the oldest, greatest, most glorious and most authoritative of all the apostolic churches, are only a few among many indications of the right of supreme leadership that archaic Christian society adjudged to the See of Rome.

Doubtless, in the infancy of Christendom, this supremacy was chiefly visible in the mystic pomp of martyrdom and the organized services of charity. But it was an organic and native right, and could therefore adapt itself, as it did, to all the actual needs of Christian society, as they developed from internal growth or under pressure from without. The little pseudo-Cyprian tract, "Against Gamesters," is an index that, before Constantine, they claimed to rule by the "Power of the Keys." In its spirit, this very ancient discourse of a Roman Bishop does not differ from any formula of Leo the Great. Yet Eusebius is guaranty that this power was chiefly exercised over the churches by acts of charity that extended from the apostolic times down to his own day. I need not rehearse the functions of Rome at a later period, in repressing the most disruptive, anti-Christian heresies, in the conversion and instruction of the barbarians, in the formation of their rulers and their laws, in the uplifting and idealizing of the incipient national lives of France, Germany, England and Spain. Writing in 1808, Tobler could say that, without the Papacy, there would not have remained in the world any universal religion, faith would have entirely disappeared. And the contemporary Swiss historian, the great Johann von Müller, could write that their paternal hands held up bravely the whole hierarchy, and at the same time preserved the liberty of all the states of Europe. "It was the Pope who restrained and governed, by means of the

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principles of religion and the fear of God, the bold, unbridled youth of our modern States." The Gregories, Alexanders and Innocents of the Middle Ages were, indeed, as a wall against the torrent of absolutism that then threatened to invade the whole earth. If, in the weakness of mediæval, popular organization, the insidious despotism of the Orient failed to prevail in the courts of the West, it was because the violent and lascivious nobles were forever held in check by the fear or the respect of him who sat in the Chair of Peter. And, when the awful cataclysm of the Reformation took place, it was still the insight, genius and energy of Rome that kept intact a solid phalanx of Catholicism, through all the defections and apostasies of a century.

The average non-Catholic does not easily seize the point of view from which the Roman Catholic looks on the Pope. To us, he is the divinely-appointed High Court of Appeals of Christendom, the *"Dominus Apostolicus"* or living embodiment of the supreme, vicarious authority of the Apostolic College. Hence, we measure the progress or decay of the Christian cause and interest, very largely, by the condition of the Roman See. It is for us the working heart of Christendom. And the words of affection and veneration that we use when speaking of it we believe to be justified by its eminently paternal character and spirit, its origin, its age, its manifold experience, its countless services to the virtuous and the oppressed, its supra-national functions. For its sake, we have imitated the Geux of Holland, and converted a title of reproach into a title of distinction. Every Catholic bishop knows, by history and by instinct, that his strength and dignity are dependent on the strength and dignity of the Pope. And the latter knows, in turn, that his first duty is the confirmation of the bishops in faith and enthusiasm.*

The last great storm through which our Catholic Christianity has gone was the French Revolution. The brunt of this was borne by the See of Rome. Two Popes, Pius VI. and Pius VII., learned in their own persons what the agony and the glory of martyrdom are like. To their personal courage and independence is very largely owing the recrudescence of Catholic affection for a See which, in these bishops, showed itself truly apostolic. We consider that it is owing to the extreme watchfulness and foresight of the Popes in this century that schism and heresy have

*Luke, xxii., 31, 32.

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been so little in evidence. More than one source or cause of these great disruptions has showed itself. But, from whatever quarter the danger threatened, it was conquered by the action of the Apostolic See. In the meantime, the numbers of its adherents have grown with the growth of the world, and may be set down at the opening of the twentieth century as more than one-half of the five hundred millions who bear the name of Christians.* Nowhere, perhaps, is this phenomenal growth more noticeable than among the English-speaking peoples. From the most insignificant place in the statistics of Catholicism, they have come in this century to count nearly two hundred and fifty bishops, in a total of less than one thousand; and, from a handful of believers outside of Ireland, to be more than twenty-one millions, with over twenty-one thousand priests and more than eighteen thousand churches.†

To this large and compact body, habituated to look on Christianity as a living organism of which they are integrant parts, the Pope represents all the counsel, experience, sympathy, glory, and also the sufferings of the past. No other figure in the modern world so rouses the hearts of men as the venerable bishop who dwells in the Vatican, the Shepherd of Humanity, the only voice that to-day, in the midst of universal religious decay, can speak to all society with an archaic authority, an unparalleled experience and a universal good-will that all must recognize, if they do not obey. His genuine wrongs and sufferings must some day be redressed, for they have an intimate relationship with the wrongs and sufferings that the common people everywhere loudly proclaim that they themselves are compelled to bear. It is an eternally true law of history that any signal violation of justice avenges itself eventually upon all human society, and demands an equally signal reparation.

Catholic students of history and politics agree that there is a remarkable unity of purpose and means, a keenness and direct-

*At the late Australasian Catholic Congress, Mr. Michael G. Mulhall declared that, of the 501,600,000 Christians in the world, 290,000,000 were Roman Catholics.

†In a work lately published by Messrs. Swan & Sonnenschein, of London, I find the following statistics of conversions to Catholicism within fifty years from among the higher classes of English society: "Since 1850," it is there said, "the persons who have gone over to the Church of Rome include 445 graduates of Oxford, 213 of Cambridge, and 63 of other universities, besides 27 peers, 244 military officers, 162 authors, 129 lawyers, and 60 physicians. Among the graduates were 446 clergymen of the Established Church."

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ness of vision, in the onslaughts which were made upon the Papacy during the past century, and that ended in the utter destruction of its public status as a civil power. But they know, too, that the peace, happiness and prosperity assured by the doctrinaires and sectaries of the whole century are not yet the lot of that nation which has been built over the grave of the Pope's old and venerable political authority. They rightly suspect, from the analogy of the past, the character of the peoples of the peninsula, and the scope of those who yet detain his political authority, that the measure of the popular sufferings of Italy is not filled up. On the other hand, the peoples of all Europe are threatened with evils of the same nature. The men who sit in the high places of these nations speak with little hope of the near future. Militarism, that has always ended in despotism, and a godless industrialism, that must needs breed popular envy and hatred, lift their heads with pride and assurance of future domination. Again an era of force, cloaked but poorly by a coarse luxury and license, dawns upon the Continental nations, with all its sure subversion of hardly conquered popular rights and liberties, and the equally sure retaliation of the oppressed.

The Roman Catholic is convinced that all these evils which seriously threaten Christian Europe are owing to the popular neglect of the simple and sane principles of the gospel, their quasi-official expulsion from public life, the fatal assumption that there can be a sufficient and working morality without religion and worship—that is, without public recognition of God, as Creator, Father, Provider and Saviour. To him, the symbol of this secular activity is the degradation and humiliation of the one great force that stood publicly and officially for the historic Christian morality. We recognize and welcome those numerous voices from outside our fold that daily join themselves to us in regretting the destruction of a Supreme Moral Tribunal among Christians, that could alone efficiently avert the evils of war, alone persuade whole peoples to a hearty reconciliation. But we listen with greater veneration to those words of Leo XIII., in his late Encyclical on Jesus Christ, in which the august nonagenarian, himself one of the few survivors of the century, points out the dangers of the future and mingles with his warning the words of remedy:

"So great is this struggle of the passions and so serious the dangers involved that we must either anticipate ultimate ruin or seek

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for an efficient remedy. It is, of course, both right and necessary to punish malefactors, to educate the masses, and by legislation to prevent crime in every possible way; but all this is by no means sufficient. The salvation of the nations must be looked for higher. A power greater than human must be called in to teach men's hearts, awaken in them the sense of duty, and make them better. This is the power which once before saved the world from destruction when groaning under much more terrible evils. Once remove all impediments and allow the Christian spirit to revive and grow strong in a nation, and that nation will be healed. The strife between the classes and the masses will die away; mutual rights will be respected. If Christ be listened to, both rich and poor will do their duty. The former will realize that they must observe justice and charity, the latter self-restraint and moderation, if both are to be saved. Domestic life will be firmly established by the salutary fear of God as the lawgiver."

The Roman Catholic believes that no teacher of morality that the world knows, or could create, can ever speak a more true and noble language, or emphasize his teaching with greater authority and experience. Every word is coined out of the common Christian treasury of truth, and is received as such by more than one-half of Christendom, not only because it corresponds to the written records of the life of Christ, but because it comes from the mouth of one whom He has set up among us as His authorized witness, exponent and mouth-piece. With equal masterliness, the Pope touches on the original sin of our public life—its rejection of the spirit of Jesus, as manifested in the gospel and the history of Christianity:

"In the same way the precepts of the natural law, which dictates respect for lawful authority and obedience to the laws, will exercise their influence over the people. Seditions and conspiracies will cease. Wherever Christianity rules over all without let or hindrance, there the order established by Divine Providence is preserved, and both security and prosperity are the happy result. The common welfare, then, urgently demands a return to Him from whom we should never have gone astray; to Him who is the Way, the Truth and the Life—and this on the part not only of individuals, but of society as a whole. We must restore Christ to this His own rightful possession. All elements of the national life must be made to drink in the life which proceedeth from Him—legislation, political institutions, education, marriage and family life, capital and labor. Every one must see that the very growth of civilization which is so ardently desired depends greatly upon this, since it is fed and grows not so much by material wealth and prosperity as by the spiritual qualities of morality and virtue."

I am aware that the obstacles in the way of the Unity of Christendom are very great, and that to many minds they seem

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hopeless. Nevertheless, it is possible; perhaps, if our prayers were fervent enough, this incalculable boon would be again granted, that we might all own one God, one faith, one baptism. Thereby, we would again bring to bear upon the new life that opens before mankind the benign, regenerating influences of the example and the teachings of Our Lord, but this time with the impact of a common unity. Even Melancthon recognized its necessity; and for many years the theologians of the Reformation were occupied with the bases of such a step as might have been the noblest act of the sixteenth century. The hope clung to life in the hearts of Grotius, Leibnitz, George Calixtus. In the Anglican Church, Laud, and perhaps Ussher, cherished the same desire. It has lived a cryptic life in Oxford, and among a small number of the more spiritual Anglican clergy. Very noble souls, like Ambrose de Lisle Phillips, have given themselves to the furtherance of the ideal. Societies exist in Germany and France for that purpose—societies of prayer, persuasion and example. The Popes have never ceased to solicit officially the wandering families of Christendom to come back within the common fold; and, while the Church cannot sacrifice the truth of her teaching, in all other ways the return would be made easy. She has only deep sorrow and abundant tears for the dissensions of Christendom, knowing well that they are the chief cause of the persecutions it undergoes, the delay of its triumph over the hearts and souls of men, and the rejoicings of its eternal enemies that at last they have fixed the limits of its influence and marked the hour of its downfall and ruin.

J. CARD. GIBBONS.

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AMERICAN PROGRESS AND BRITISH COMMERCE.

BY HAROLD COX.

In the March number of the Review, Mr. Charles R. Flint gave expression to the pride felt by himself, and doubtless shared by his fellow-citizens, in the industrial progress of the United States. With that pride no level-headed Englishman is likely to quarrel, even though the expression of it is, perhaps, a trifle overdone. To most of us in England the industrial development of the United States causes no surprise. One only wonders that it was not sooner attained.

I chanced the other day upon a little book by an English free-trader, W. P. Adam, published in the year 1852, and my eye fell upon the following passage:

> "America is the country of the future; and no legislation, no restriction of ours will, for one moment, hinder that development, which, rapid as it has been, is destined for the future to be more rapid and decided; with an enormous unoccupied territory, with a population doubling itself every twenty-one years, with a tide of emigration setting steadily towards her from all parts of the Old World, with a people as enterprising and energetic as any on the face of the globe, it is impossible not to foresee the brilliant future which awaits her, and the folly of those who think that by the paltry barrier of legislation they can for one instant stay her resistless course onward—a course which must soon place her in at least an equal position to ourselves among the commercial nations of the earth."

If Mr. W. P. Adam were still alive, he would certainly feel that he had a right to complain of the United States for having taken so long to fulfill his prophecy. Consider, for a moment, the enormous advantages the United States has possessed. It has had control of a practically unlimited area of virgin soil, intersected

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by magnificent waterways. Its mineral wealth is of fabulous value and is, for the most part, easily accessible. Its people, by the mere fact that they live in a new country, are largely freed from that tyranny of custom that in old countries everywhere impedes progress. Moreover, the American population is constantly recruited from the most alert elements of the various populations of Europe. You may get some of our ne'er-do-wells, but you also get the men of enterprise and ambition, who are willing to leave their homes on the chance of bettering their condition. It is the plodding, unprogressive man who refuses to move from his own village or back street. Thus the human conditions have conspired with the physical conditions to give the United States opportunities of progress such as no nation in the world ever before enjoyed. In addition, the people of the United States have been able freely to call upon the old world for every pound of capital they cared to borrow, in order to construct their railways, to exploit their mines and to cultivate their fields.

Two farmers are living side by side. The one is mature, the other is beginning life. The older man is cooped up within a ring fence; the farm of the younger has no fixed boundaries, but spreads out as far as he cares to drive the plow through unbroken, but fertile, land. The older man is daily aiding the younger by advancing to him stock and implements; and, year by year, the older man packs off some of his own farm hands to join the younger man's establishment. Would it not be a marvel if the younger man failed to overtake the elder?

Probably, the United States would have overtaken England twenty years ago, if she had not deliberately hampered herself by an absurd fiscal system. Had she been a smaller country, these fiscal barriers would have delayed her progress even more. But the United States is a little world in itself. As Mr. Flint points out, its "interstate commerce to-day is the largest trade carried on anywhere under conditions of absolute free trade." It has been able freely to exchange the semi-tropical products of the South for the products of the colder North; it has been able to exchange freely the product of the forest for the product of the field, and the product of the mine for both. This complete freedom of exchange has not hindered the growth in the newer States of manufacturing industries of which the older States appeared at one time to have exclusive control. The new South has become

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a keen industrial competitor with the old North; and the centre of gravity of your manufacturing industries is steadily moving southwards and westwards. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that, if you had enlarged the area of free exchange, if you had permitted your manufacturers, your miners, your farmers and your transport agencies to draw upon the whole world for the materials and the implements which they require, your industrial development would have been even more rapid.

That is a question, however, of argument and speculation too lengthy to be dealt with in this article. It is more important for the moment to call attention to some of the remarkable statements made by Mr. Flint, in the exuberance of his joy at discovering that, at last, the United States, with its boundless territory and its seventy-five million people, has caught up with this little island in the Northern seas.

He thinks we English are appalled at the fact. Not at all! Some of our yellow journals may occasionally indulge in a screaming article upon the decadence of England, but sober Englishmen only read such papers for the sake of amusement. So far from being appalled at American progress, we are only pleased. The richer you grow, the more profitable will our trade with you become. The more you develop your industries, the better market will you offer to ours.

At the present time, the United States stands about fourth in our list of customers, and if we may judge by our experience with Germany, you will take more and more of our goods, either directly or indirectly, as your industrial development proceeds. British exports to Germany have risen in the past thirteen years, with scarcely a break, from $80,000,000 in 1888 to $140,000,000 in 1900. Yet, on this side of the Atlantic, as well as on yours, we have people who are incapable of seeing that our keenest commercial rivals are also our best customers, and that their prosperity adds to ours. The figures of our export trade with you are on the surface by no means so satisfactory. They show great fluctuations year by year, with a general tendency downwards. The fluctuations are partly due to variations in your harvest, which, by affecting your export of cereals, affect your power of purchase. They are also due in part to loan transactions between England and America, which are constantly fluctuating in amount. The general tendency downwards is probably due,

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almost entirely, to your tariff, which forces our trade into a circuitous route. Instead of paying you directly for what we buy, we have to send our goods to Brazil, or Mexico, or some other neutral market, and leave our customers there to balance the account by sending some of their stuff on to you.

A direct trade would probably be more advantageous to both parties; but it seems almost hopeless to discuss that point, as long as people of ability, like Mr. Flint, are apparently unable to grasp the elementary fact that the advantages of trade must be mutual. Mr. Flint talks as if American goods were, in some way, forced upon the British market, against the wish of the British people. He is entirely wrong. American goods come to this country only because we call for them. It is not the producer who determines the sale, but the purchaser. American manufacturers might load all the ships in the world with American goods, but they could not sell a single ounce unless some purchaser wanted to buy. Is it necessary to add that the British purchaser buys only to please himself, not to please the American producer? In the same way, the American producer sells only because he finds a profit in doing so. He does not send his goods to Great Britain out of pure benevolence. He expects to be paid for them, and he is paid. The trade is mutually advantageous to buyer and seller; and, unless it were so, it would not continue for a day.

I ought almost to apologize to my readers for putting before them these elementary considerations, with which every man of business must be familiar in the daily routine of his life. But it is one of the curious facts in connection with debates upon international trade that the disputants frequently seem to forget altogether the fundamental human motives that lie at the root of all trade. Mr. Flint, indeed, carries his forgetfulness to the point of actually confusing plus with minus, profit with loss. After quoting figures to show that the United States is now sending out a greater value than she receives back, he says: "It is difficult to add to the force of these figures. They mean that for every dollar's worth of goods imported by us and produced by the cheap labor of the world we are selling to those cheap laborers themselves two dollars' worth." A little later on, he adds, triumphantly, that the United States is "the only nation in the world that shows any considerable trade balance on the right side."

Must we, then, turn our ledgers upside down? How can a

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man grow rich by giving two dollars' worth of stuff in exchange for one dollar's worth? Or, perhaps, Mr. Flint is indifferent to national wealth, and thinks that his countrymen are sufficiently rewarded for the loss of fifty per cent. on every transaction, by the knowledge that they are acting as benefactors to the "cheap labor" of Europe. The truth, of course, is that, if the United States were really doing such a trade as Mr. Flint imagines, even its splendid resources would not long stand the strain.

The whole confusion arises from a misapprehension of the part which money plays in trade. Money is only the means by which trade is conducted. Men do not empty their warehouses of wheat and cotton in order to fill their strong-rooms with gold and silver. They sell the wheat or cotton only in order that they may be able to buy something else. The money is merely a go-between; and, in the gradual perfection of modern exchange, this once solid go-between is rapidly losing all substantial existence. Transactions amounting to thousands of millions of dollars are yearly disposed of without the transference of a single metal coin or paper note. Trade is, and in essence always has been, and always must be, merely barter—the exchange of goods against goods. If America sends goods to Britain, the exchange is not complete until Britain sends back other goods to America, or to some third country from which America buys. Unless these other goods were sent back, the American exporter would receive no payment, and would very soon get tired of the amusement of exporting.

That is why Englishmen, who have been trained in the school of free trade, regard with perfect equanimity the development of American industries, and what is called the "invasion" of the home market. The more you sell to us, the more we must sell to you, unless you intend to set up as universal philanthropists. Even so, we should not complain. It has been an enormous advantage to England to be able to buy your wheat at a cheap rate. It would be a still greater advantage to get it for nothing.

The same consideration applies to the alleged intention of the new Steel Trust to sell below cost price in England. Incidentally, I may remark that the leading men in the British iron and steel trade are not very seriously alarmed by the threats of your over-capitalized trusts. During the past two years, British and German workshops have had more orders than they could dispose of.

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After all, there are only twenty-four hours in the day; and on this side of the Atlantic we have learnt that, in the long run, it pays best to keep the larger number of those hours for sleep and recreation. British and German firms were, therefore, quite content that you should take some of the orders they could not fulfill. It will not be so when business slackens. Competition will again become keen, and, as far as can be gathered from the public utterances of British iron-masters, they are quite confident of the result.

It may be that they are wrong. It may be that your superior natural advantages, and the superior mental alertness of your workmen, will outweigh the load you have placed upon your industry by your protective tariff, and that you will be able to carry your goods across the Atlantic and underbid our producers. Even that prospect does not alarm us. There was a time when England exported wheat to the United States. For a century we have ceased to do so, and for half a century we have been largely dependent upon you for our daily bread. And yet we go on, and continue to smile. If you can send us cheaper steel than we can make ourselves, we shall gladly buy it, for it will enable us to produce ships and machinery even more cheaply than now.

Undoubtedly, the destruction of our blast furnaces would be a serious matter to the men whose capital is embarked, or whose labor is specialized, in that industry. But destruction, as well as construction, is inevitable in the gradual development of the world. Whole industries are disappearing from the face of the globe, because new inventions have rendered them unnecessary. Every day, thousands of dollars' worth of capital is being "scrapped" to make way for some small improvement. The human element has to adapt itself to these changes and is every day so doing. Already, indeed, it is possible to forecast a time when the building of steam engines will be as extinct an industry as the building of stage coaches. To prohibit the importation of American steel into England, in order to preserve British blast furnaces, would be only a trifle less silly than to prohibit the manufacture of electro-motors in order to preserve the steam engine.

Mr. Flint, however, appears to imagine that it will be possible for American producers to destroy one British industry after

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another, till there be no British industry left. It is an amiable anticipation, but the author of it does not explain how the American producer is then to be paid for his products. We are delighted to buy anything that America sends us, if it is cheap enough and good enough; but if the American producer is so unreasonable as to wish to be paid for what he sells, he must graciously permit us to go on producing something ourselves. We have nothing but our goods to give in exchange for your goods. If you will not buy from us, though we shall still be pleased to take anything you like to send, we shall not be able to pay for it.

This brings me to the interesting question of how the balances of international trade are in practice settled. A very cursory examination of international trade statistics is sufficient to show that, in all old and prosperous countries, there is an apparent excess of imports over exports. Here are the figures for the most highly-developed countries of Europe, in the year 1898, the last year for which all the figures are yet available:

	Net Imports. Million Dollars.	Net Exports. Million Dollars.	Excess of Imports. Million Dollars.
United Kingdom	2,045	1,165	880
France	895	700	195
Germany	1,270	940	330
Switzerland	230	155	75
Belgium	410	355	55
Holland	735	630	105
Denmark	100	65	35
Sweden	125	95	30

How is this apparent excess to be explained? In the first place, it is due to the profit that is made by the persons engaged in international trade. Take the case of Great Britain. The tables of imports are intended by the Board of Trade to give the value of the imported goods upon arrival at our ports. As accurately as can be ascertained from the importer, the value entered represents the original cost, plus insurance, plus freight. The tables of exports give, in the same way, the values of exported goods when they leave our ports, in a word, the free-on-board price.

If the two figures were exactly the same, there could, clearly, be no profit on the exchange. England would get back exactly the same value as she sent out, and her merchants would consequently be working for nothing. That is not the habit of the British merchant. He has a weakness for being paid for the work he does; and his payment—that is, his profit—appears in the statis-

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tical tables as part of the excess of imports over exports. In addition, there is the large question of freight to be considered. The ship-owner also wants to be paid, and his payment will be marked in the tables by an import into the country where he happens to live. It is notorious that the greater part of the carrying trade of the world is in the hands of Great Britain, and that is one of the principal reasons why the British excess of imports is so much greater than the excess enjoyed by any other country. The payments for insurance further swell the British total, for the greater part of the marine insurance business of the world is in British hands.

Lastly we come to the important question of the movement of capital. It is this that explains why the older countries have generally an excess of imports and the new countries an excess of exports; it is because the old countries are creditors and the new countries are debtors. Europe every year receives an enormous revenue in the shape of interest upon money that has been lent by her to assist in developing the new world—the United States, Canada, the Argentine, Chili, Peru and Uruguay, Australia, India and South Africa. India must be classed with the new world; for, although her civilization is as old as the oldest in Europe, industrially she is a new country, and has to borrow largely from England for the development of her railways and factories.

Of all these many borrowers, there is none so insatiable as the United States. Not only have your railways been largely constructed with English capital, and your mines developed with the same assistance, but in the Western States many of the farms are practically in the hands of English capitalists. The annual payment due on account of these loans is enormous, and explains at once the greater part of the excess of exports from the United States to the rest of the world. That excess would have shown itself earlier, if it had not been that you were steadily contracting new loans, so that the capital borrowed in one year often exceeded the amount due for interest upon previous debt. It is reasonable to assume that you are now getting to the end of your borrowing. Your railway system is to a large extent completed, and your population is now so large and your industries so well established that you are probably making capital for yourselves as fast as you require it. There are, indeed, signs that you are already beginning to pay off some of your indebtedness, and to

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make investments of your own in foreign countries. While that process continues, your excess of exports will steadily grow greater. But, when the bulk of your debt is paid off and you have secured a substantial investment abroad, you will again experience what Mr. Flint regards as an adverse balance of trade; that is to say, you will again receive, as you did when you were borrowing freely, a greater value in imports than you send away in exports. When that time arrives, doubtless there will be people among you—as there are now among us—to declare that you are living on your capital and hurrying to national bankruptcy. In a sense, it will be true that you will be living on your capital; for you will be partly living upon the interest on your investment, just as we are to-day. If it hurts you no more than it hurts us, you will have little cause to complain.

The people who imagine that an excess of imports over exports is an indication of approaching bankruptcy, may profitably examine the figures of British trade for the past half century. It was in the year 1854 that the Board of Trade of the United Kingdom began to enter imports according to their real value. Before that date, the figures are useless for purposes of comparison. In the forty-seven years that have since elapsed, the gross, aggregate value of the imports into the United Kingdom has amounted to $75,220,000,000. That is what the world has sent us in the shape of corn and cotton and wine, wool and hides, butter and bacon and eggs, sugar and tea and coffee, tobacco and spirits, timber and metals, oils and petroleum, and a thousand other things, to feed our industries or to give pleasure to ourselves. What have we given in exchange? During the same period the gross, aggregate exports from the United Kingdom have amounted to $58,650,000,000. Thus there is an apparent deficiency of $16,570,000,000. If this were really a balance on the wrong side, even the wealth of Great Britain could not stand the strain. As for the idea that some people appear to entertain, that we pay for our imports in gold, it ought to be sufficient to remark that England does not produce gold. As a matter of fact, we import in most years considerably more gold than we export. During the period from 1858 to 1900, our aggregate, net imports of gold amounted to $780,000,000. That is the sum in solid gold which in forty-three years we have acquired and absorbed, in addition to the enormous excess value

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of imported commodities. Adding the two figures together (although they do not cover quite the same period), we get a total of $17,350,000,000. The true explanation of this stupendous figure has already been given in advance. It represents, first, the profit made by British merchants; secondly, the freights earned, and insurance fees collected by British ship-owners and underwriters; and, thirdly, the interest we receive for our investments abroad, after deduction has been made of the capital which we still continue to export. The figures above quoted would, in fact, have been probably more than doubled, if we had not during the period under review continued to lend freely to foreign countries.

A suggestion, I am aware, is often made that England is paying for her constantly growing imports by selling her securities. The best answer to that theory is furnished by the London money market. Doubtless, England has parted of late years with some of her American securities; but she continues to lend money with both hands to almost every country in the world. Instead of a scarcity of capital on the London market, there is an almost constant plethora. Though there is a growing scale of expenditure in every class of the community, yet the annual savings of the nation are so enormous that we have continually to look for fresh investments. This may or may not be a healthy condition of society. Personally, I think that great aggregations of wealth are a distinct evil, but there is no evidence that capital is held in larger blocks with us than with you. On the contrary, there are probably fewer multi-millionaires in England than in the States.

But, for our present argument, the important point is that, whether the increase of wealth in England is a good thing or a bad thing, it is a fact. The following figures are carried down to a period before the war in South Africa had begun to influence our finances. They show that, in spite of frequent reductions of taxation, the national revenue has enormously expanded, and that the national debt had been greatly reduced. They show that the incomes of the well-to-do classes had more than doubled, and that the savings of the working classes—so far as these are represented by deposits in the Savings Bank—had increased nearly fivefold. The figures, lastly, show a remarkable increase in the standard of comfort, as evidenced by the growth in the consumption of such staple commodities as tea and sugar:

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THE UNITED KINGDOM UNDER FREE TRADE.

	Year, 1859-60. Million dols.	Year, 1869-70. Million dols.	Year, 1879-80. Million dols.	Year, 1889-90. Million dols.	Year, 1899-00. Million dols.
National revenue	350	370	395	445	600
National debt	4,140	4,000	3,885	3,455	3,195
Property assessed to income tax. Gross annual value	1,675	2,225	2,885	3,345	3,795
Savings bank deposits	195	255	380	540	910
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Tea consumed per head of population	2.7	3.6	4.7	5.0	5.9
Sugar consumed per head of population	35	43	66	77	91

One word in conclusion. In what is above written, England has been compared to the mature man, America to a sturdy youth. The analogy is useful from many aspects; but it is apt to be misleading, if pressed too far. Our Australian offspring had grown so accustomed to this analogy; it was so much their habit to speak of England as the "old country," that they had worked themselves into a belief that England was beginning to suffer from senile decay. When, in 1897, Australians visited the old country in large numbers for the late Queen's jubilee, they expressed their astonishment at seeing on every hand the signs of eager enterprise and manly vigor. The truth is that, though a nation as an organism may grow old in years and rich in comfort, its vitality will suffer no abatement, its mind will not falter, nor its hand tremble, so long as every year a new group of active youths and smiling maidens steps upon the stage, to replace the old men and matrons who have done their day. There is no evidence that this perennial succession of eager adolescence to declining age is yet interrupted, or soon likely to be, either in England or in the States. You may call us old, we may soon begin to retort that you are middle-aged; but, a thousand years ahead, there will still be boys and girls in both our countries, to fight new industrial battles, to face new scientific problems, to carry on the race, and to laugh at the talk of decrepitude.

HAROLD COX.

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OUR FOREIGN TRADE AND PROSPERITY.

BY PROFESSOR JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE article by Mr. Charles R. Flint on the "Business Situation and Prospects in the United States," in the March number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, is a remarkable compilation of interesting facts and fallacious deductions. At a time when the United States is entering upon a new commercial career, it is of the utmost importance that our business men should have correct ideas about their prosperity, and clear perceptions of the forces which may undermine its foundation. Mr. Flint's wide business experience and his familiarity with the facts of the commercial world give to his opinions, naturally and properly, great weight among business men. I think it worth while, therefore, to call attention to dangerous fallacies in his article.

Among political economists, Mr. Flint would be classed as an intelligent exponent of the old mercantilist school, whose peculiar doctrines about wealth and prosperity it was the mission of Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill to destroy. Mr. Flint's article is one loud hurrah over the fact that the exports of the United States far exceed its imports. His patriotic exultation is also encouraged by the newly-acquired position of our country as the leading gold producer of the world. Here are two unquestioned facts, and in Mr. Flint's opinion they prove the United States to be, not only the most prosperous nation in the world, but also the one whose prosperity in the future is least liable to overthrow. These conclusions are the threads upon which all the interesting facts of his article are strung.

Let us first notice Mr. Flint's interpretation of our "favor-

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able balance of trade." In 1900, this amounted to $649,000,000, that sum representing the excess of exports over imports. Says Mr. Flint:

"In other words, we are paying our way as we go, living on the best, spending all the money we want for luxuries as well as necessities, and still 'laying by,' like the thrifty Yankees that we are, at the rate of $54,000,000 a month. Every time the minute hand ticks a surplus reserve of $1,300 is posted to Uncle Sam's credit on the books of the world, after he has paid everything he owes in trade."

Here is an attractive statement of the long-exploded doctrine that the "balance of trade" represents the profit and loss account of the national ledger. Nothing could be further from the truth. I am certain that Mr. Flint does not mean to imply that the increase of our national wealth hinges entirely on the turn which our foreign trade may take. Certain sentences in his article show his appreciation of the importance of our internal commerce, which is the real source of national income in a country like the United States. Important as is foreign commerce, its profits are a mere bagatelle compared with those accruing from internal production and exchange. I have no doubt that Mr. Flint would admit this to be true; and yet the average reader will get the idea from his article that the growth of our wealth, our status as a world power, our command over the labor and luxuries of other peoples, must be measured by the excess of our exports over our imports.

Consistently with this theory, Mr. Flint proceeds to set up the three richest countries of Europe as objects of pitiable contemplation. England, France, and Germany are on the downward path, forsooth, because their trade balances are unfavorable. Mr. Flint says:

"While the United States is piling up a credit balance of over six hundred millions a year, our three chief competitors for the trade of the world are writing a total of over one billion on the wrong side of the ledger. That the full significance of these figures may be appreciated they must be studied and analyzed. It is as if four houses were doing business side by side; one of these houses, the United States, after paying all its running expenses, has a balance in the bank of six hundred millions, in round numbers, while the other three houses have an aggregate loss to write up at the end of each year amounting to one thousand million dollars."

Mr. Flint's analysis does not explain the true significance of the figures. England deserves congratulations because of her

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so-called "unfavorable balance." So does France; so does Germany. The people of those countries, in past generations, have laid aside surplus pennies and centimes and pfennigs, the unconsumed profits of their factories, their agriculture, their ocean-carrying trade, and have loaned their accumulated savings to less-favored peoples in North and South America, in India, and in the Orient. While making these foreign investments, and before a large returning tide of dividends and interest set in, the exports of these countries were larger than their imports. Now the world is paying them tribute. From all quarters of the globe, ships laden with luxuries and necessaries are steering toward English, French, and German ports; and sometimes their return voyage is with empty holds, because there is no balance to be settled. It would be difficult to find a country on the face of the earth whose people are not toiling, as it were gratuitously, for the benefit of those Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans whom Mr. Flint would have us pity. The disparity between England's imports and exports furnishes no clue to her prosperity. Knowing England's investments in various parts of the world, we can safely predict that, for many years to come, her imports will exceed her exports, no matter how much the latter may increase. With regard to England's welfare, we can say with confidence, on account of her limited resources, her insular position, and her climate, that any decline in her foreign trade on either side cannot be regarded as a cheerful indication. England depends much more on foreign trade than does the United States. Our country, with its variety of resources and climate, encompassing the torrid, the temperate, and the frigid zones, is practically independent of the world, and it might be prosperous even though another ship never crossed the high seas.

Mr. Flint is familiar with the resources of the United States. In his article he calls attention to them, and then draws the conclusion, from our possession of these resources, that the balance of trade in our favor will increase steadily. This is an opinion which will not bear analysis. The United States cannot forever go on exporting more than it imports. Indeed, the tide must turn within not many years. Americans want payment for their products, and that payment must come in gold or goods, or remain a debt due us from foreigners. Very little of that debt can be paid in gold. The United States needs no more

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gold than it produces. It produces a surplus of gold, as it produces a surplus of wheat. It is naturally a gold-exporting nation. So the payment must be made in goods, or in investments. If in investments, the time cannot be far off when dividends and interest on those investments in foreign countries will flow in toward the United States, just as now dividends and interest payments are moving toward France, Germany, and England. It is absurd to suppose that any country can always be investing and never demand returns on its loaned capital.

The United States, according to Mr. Flint, has become a creditor nation because of its favorable balance of trade. Here he gets the cart before the horse. A creditor nation is one which lends to its neighbors. No nation will lend to foreigners if it can get a better rate of interest at home. The United States is loaning money to Europe, because European borrowers are now paying a higher rate of interest than American borrowers. There could be no other reason why the banks of New York should leave balances in Europe. What has given rise to the disparity between interest rates in the United States and Europe? The accumulation of capital in the United States, and the absorption of European capital during recent years in wars and in various industrial enterprises, of which the Siberian Railway is the most notable. The United States has become a creditor nation, because capital is relatively more abundant in the United States than in Europe, and not because it has managed to sell more to Europe than it has bought. As a matter of fact, our favorable balance of trade, in relation to our position as a creditor nation, is a result and not a cause. The disparity between our exports and imports has been growing in recent years, because of the fact that we were willing to lend capital to Europe, our investors and bankers realizing there four and five per cent. at times when three per cent. could barely be got at home. The excess of exports from the United States, while evidence that our manufacturers are getting the advantage in many fields over foreign competitors, also proves that the United States, by the development of its internal resources, by the genius of its people for invention, and as a result of its efficient labor, has accumulated more capital than its *entrepreneurs* can employ, has ceased to be a borrower, and is supplying the capital—that is, machinery and foodstuffs—for the development of

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other countries. Its so-called "favorable balance," in other words, is growing *because* it has become a creditor nation. In time, the tide will turn, and ships laden with goods representing interest and dividends, will turn toward New York from the ports of the world. Our imports may then exceed our exports, yet the United States will be none the less a creditor nation.

I am unable to discover the basis for Mr. Flint's belief that American prosperity will last longer than Europe's. He says:

> "This is so well understood abroad that foreigners are everywhere eager seekers for our securities. Since the last election there has been a rush for American investments unparalleled in history. All over the world capital is anxious to go into partnership with American industrial enterprises."

I am disposed to question these statements. If it is true that foreigners are investing capital at an unprecedented rate in the United States, then I must confess inability to explain the growth of our exports, and I can discover no reason for calling the United States as yet a creditor nation. Why should we lend money to foreigners at a time when our own enterprises are so attractive that they draw foreign capital over to us?

At a time when every good American is anxious to see New York the financial center of the world, any explanation of London's proud position in that respect is worthy of attention. Mr. Flint's explanation contains more patriotism than logic. In his opinion, London's status, as the financial center of the world, could not be maintained if England did not have large investments in the United States and were not drawing something like two hundred millions a year out of our people on account of ocean freights and foreign travel. "She gets from these sources," Mr. Flint remarks, "in a measure, what she loses in the balance of trade." I am unable to follow this reasoning, or to see any possible connection between the facts and the conclusions. London's position as a financial center is due to the fact that she is also the commercial center. London is called the financial center merely because bills of exchange on London are the most acceptable bills anywhere created. They do not owe their acceptability to chance, or to the wealth of England, or to England's investments in the United States. Their acceptability has a commercial origin. English ships have long been going into all the ports of the world, and English manufacturers have been of

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necessity seeking markets in every land. Everywhere on the globe, one finds business men dealing with London, just as in the United States one everywhere finds business houses engaged in transactions of one kind or another with New York firms. Thus London exchange is in demand in all markets. For this reason, and for no other, London has become known as the financial center. New York cannot wrest the title from London until American manufacturers have found customers in every land.

American business men must not place too much confidence in Mr. Flint's assertion that "our prosperity is built on lines that place us beyond the competition of the world." In his opinion, we have Europe practically at our mercy, for she depends upon us for the necessaries of life, whereas we buy from Europeans, in the main, only luxuries. "We send them," he says, "one hundred pounds of produce, and they give us in return a few ounces of fizz and feathers. This gives us control of the situation." It is but a short step from this epigram to the conclusion that the United States is under no obligation to Europe for the prosperity which it enjoys. Even if Europe, says Mr. Flint, should organize an "economical alliance" for the purpose of shutting out American goods, Europe alone would suffer; if we lost our foreign markets our mills and factories "would still be kept busy supplying the needs of our own people." Mr. Flint here reaches a conclusion diametrically opposed to the one which constitutes the main thesis of his article. In the first place, he finds Uncle Sam's profits to be measured by the excess of exports over imports; in the end, he concludes that the old gentleman's business would not suffer if he exported no goods at all. Mr. Flint cannot be right in both of these positions. As a matter of fact, both of them are erroneous.

Erroneous views with regard to the nature and indications of prosperity are always likely to work mischief. In these times of world markets, when our mines and factories are turning out products for consumers in remote lands, it is of the utmost importance that business men should read the signs of the times aright. If every sailor had implicit confidence in the traditional promise of the rainbow, or believed that every black cloud meant a hurricane, the world's commerce would come to a standstill. Business enterprises must likewise suffer if men misread the portents in the financial sky. A mistake is always costly. A

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man who contracts his operations through baseless fear of adversity loses the profit he might have made, deprives his workmen of their means of subsistence, and so helps to turn imaginary panic into actual disaster. The notion that the prosperity of the United States is to be measured by the excess of its exports over its imports, is not merely a harmless error in economics. It is an error which may do mischief in the business world. In a few years, if present conditions continue and are correctly understood, the Old World will be largely in our debt, and, as I have pointed out, will be shipping to us large quantities of goods in payment of the interest and dividends on our investments abroad. Our imports will gradually swell until they exceed our exports. In this change of the balance from the so-called "favorable" to the "unfavorable" side, there will be no cause for dissatisfaction or foreboding.

On the other hand, there may be, within the next two or three years, a change in the relative proportion of exports and imports, which will be due to conditions calculated to give our manufacturers serious apprehension. During the last few years, Europe has been a good customer. She has borrowed money of us and then bought our goods. Her people have been enjoying, since 1894, an era of unprecedented prosperity. The new gold of South Africa has gotten into the channels of circulation, lifted prices, and stimulated industry. But Europe will not always be willing to borrow, nor will she always be able to buy extravagantly. The touch of hard times already lies hard upon Germany. Tons of manufactured products stamped "Made in Germany" are likely to be thrown upon the world's markets during the next year and sold at cost, because the producers are forced to liquidate and pay their bills. Forced sales of a bankrupt stock always lower prices and injure all competitors. The United States cannot help feeling the effects of the industrial collapse in Germany, and if that is followed by paralysis in France, England, and other European countries, the people of the United States, unless they find compensating markets in South America or the Far East, are liable in a year or two to have in their warehouses large stocks of unsalable goods. Then our exports will diminish, and our imports quite probably will increase. Here, indeed, would be a condition that might well cause the American *entrepreneur* to consider well his risks and take in some of his

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canvas. Under the present economic adjustment, American prosperity cannot properly be called independent of Europe. Europe is our largest customer. Our total exports in 1900 amounted to $1,394,000,000. Of this amount about $1,000,000,000 went to European ports. For us it is of the utmost importance that Europe shall be prosperous and solvent.

I have briefly described two sets of conditions which might produce a change in our balance of trade from "favorable" to "unfavorable." In the one case, the change would result from the world's continued prosperity, from the uninterrupted growth of our own industries, and from the increasing flow of American capital into foreign enterprises. In the change so produced, there would be no threat of disaster for us. On the other hand, the change might be due to the poverty of our European customers, to their inability to buy at as good prices as our own people would pay at home, and to our willingness and ability to pay more for their goods than their own people could pay. While this reversal of our foreign trade statistics would be no evidence of adversity in the United States, it would nevertheless contain a warning of derangement in the world's markets; and the United States, like every other nation, would be obliged to pause and wait for demand to overtake supply.

It is the height of folly for us to imagine that our good times are independent of Europe, because our imports consist mainly of "fizz and feathers," which we can easily go without. The United States comes nearer being a complete economic unit than any other country in the world; its soil and climate could be made to yield almost all the necessaries and luxuries which the people consume. But under the present economic adjustment, with capital invested as it now is, we are not in a position to talk about independence. We are making things we do not want, and we want things we do not make. From the point of view of independence, I cannot discover that the seller has any advantage over the buyer. Each is in absolute need of the other.

During the greater part of the nineteenth century, the United States imported capital from the old world. Its industries yielded the highest net returns. That was why capital came here. Its coming was a sign of exuberant health and buoyant, well-founded hope. It was one evidence of our prosperity. If our country had been meagre in resources, if our people had not

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been large producers and generous buyers, investments in the United States would not have paid and foreign capital would not have come. In those years, the imports of the United States far exceeded the exports. The excess of imports, roughly speaking, represented the amount of capital we were borrowing from Europe. If one nation borrows from another, the loan must always take concrete shape in either gold or goods. We took our borrowed capital mainly in goods. In the last quarter of the century, the proportion of foreign capital invested in new enterprises declined, and at the same time our factories and farms and mines and forests began sending dividends and interest to foreign stockholders and bondholders. We could not have paid those dividends in gold. To have done so would have exhausted our stock of the yellow metal in a few years. We made the payments in the produce of our lands and in the products of our factories. As a necessary consequence of these payments, our exports of merchandise have for thirty years been in excess of our imports. During the last three years, this excess has reached a figure so enormous that one is almost forced to conclude that the American people are paying back the principal of their indebtedness, and are now even lending in the very markets where they borrowed ten years ago. How long the tide will run in this direction nobody can prophesy with confidence. Much of the capital of Europe, during recent years, has been wasted—economically speaking—on battleships, military armaments, and costly campaigns in remote countries. The resultant high rate of interest in Europe, the magnet which has drawn American capital abroad, may be temporary. If so, then the restoration of peace will restore the old order of things, with capital cheaper in Berlin and London than in New York and Chicago. American capitalists, always looking for the highest rate of profit, will then seek investments in the United States, or in the rich countries of Central and South America. On the other hand, if capital is to continue scarce in Europe and abundant in the United States, then it will appear that we have become, internationally speaking, a creditor nation. We shall have a surplus of capital and shall go on exporting it, for the same reason that we have long had a surplus of wheat and have long exported it—namely, because it is worth more abroad than at home.

JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON.

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THE THEORY OF THE BALANCE OF TRADE.

BY CHARLES J. BULLOCK, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS IN WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

THE rapidity with which exports of American products have increased in recent years has served, naturally enough, to stimulate discussion concerning the unprecedented balance of trade which now stands in "favor" of the United States. Not a few writers seem to believe that the extraordinary excess of exports over imports has made our foreign trade peculiarly profitable to the country, and there has been a marked revival of some of those theories which are associated with the name of the mercantile school of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such conditions will justify renewed study of that time-worn topic, the "Balance of Trade."

I.

Mercantilism arose in the period when the precious metals discovered in the New World began to find their way into circulation in the various countries of Europe. One cardinal tenet of the school was that the statesman must exercise especial care to secure for his country a sufficient stock of treasure in silver and gold. Spain and Portugal received directly from their colonies the riches that the treasure ships brought each year from the Indies; but England and other countries, whose dependencies contained no mines of the precious metals, could, manifestly, obtain new supplies of specie only by way of trade. For this reason, an excess of exports over imports, which might be settled by an inflow of gold or silver, was considered a "favorable" balance of trade, and became an object of solicitude to statesmen and to writers upon economic subjects.

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Two circumstances aroused endless discussion of the balance of trade in England from the early decades of the seventeenth century. The East India Company was obliged to export specie each year to pay for the goods it obtained from the East, where there was little demand for English products. Then, the trade with France was believed to result in a balance unfavorable to England, so that it was thought that her traditional political rival was draining the country of its treasure. Partisans of the East India Company, such as Thomas Mun, insisted that the exportation of treasure to the East did no harm, because it was exchanged for products that were sold, at a still larger gain, in many countries of Europe; but the unfavorable balance in the French trade occasioned serious anxiety. Several times, commerce with France was absolutely prohibited; and at all periods heavy duties were imposed upon the staple imports from that country. Yet this branch of trade was long viewed with jealous eye; and writer after writer made elaborate calculations of the amount of treasure lost by the dealings with France, prophesying the utter ruin of the kingdom. "Make a law," they said, "to prohibit French trade: you need no wine and few of his commodities; and France will grow poor, while we grow rich."

Meanwhile, various Tory writers, such as Child, North and Davenant, less hostile to France, had argued that an unfavorable balance in dealings with a particular country need cause no alarm, because commerce with other countries resulted in a net excess of exports on the entire trade of the nation. But the theories of the mercantilists were not effectually controverted until the time of David Hume and Adam Smith. Hume contended that money, whenever the means of communication are open, brings "itself nearly to a level," and that its purchasing power cannot vary greatly in different nations. Spain and Portugal, he said, could not by any laws keep within their borders all the treasure brought from the Indies, since such a course would merely lower its purchasing power in those countries, and hasten its export to other places where it would command more commodities. Prices south of the Pyrenees could not be much higher than in France, since otherwise gold and silver would flow northward in exchange for cheaper products. He said that, if the various states of the old Saxon Heptarchy had maintained separate existences, each kingdom would have worried over the

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balance of trade. Moreover, Hume attacked that insane "jealousy of trade" which marked the commercial relations of the various European states; and insisted that, since a wealthy man or country is a better customer than a poor one, "the increase of the riches and commerce in any one nation, instead of hurting, commonly promotes the riches and commerce of all its neighbors."

It remained for Adam Smith to deal the death-blow to the theories of the mercantilists. He contended that all natural trade is profitable, and that its profit consists, not in the specie it may bring into the country, but in the addition it makes to the annual produce of the land and labor of the nation. The mercantilists, he said, had prophesied the ruin, through an unfavorable balance of trade, of every commercial country in Europe; and their forecasts had been discredited invariably. All the treasure that flowed from Peru and Brazil could not be retained by Spain and Portugal; and every attempt of those countries to check the outflow of specie merely tended to increase prices and to give other nations "double advantage" in their commerce with the Peninsula, by raising the prices obtainable for imports sent thither, while making domestic products dearer and more difficult to export at a profit. Since the publication of the "Wealth of Nations" few economists have thought it necessary to trouble themselves over imaginary evils resulting from the balance of trade.

But recent developments in our foreign trade have led to the expression of views that differ but slightly, if at all, from the theories of the old mercantilists. We are said to be now creating a favorable balance of trade equal to $1,300 for every minute of the day; while England, Germany and France are "writing a total of over one billion on the wrong side of the ledger" for each year's transactions. In foreign trade, we are told, it is, as in the philosophy of Mr. Micawber: "Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditures nineteen six, result happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditures twenty pounds ought and six, result misery." Then we read passages like the following:

"Never before in the history of the United States were the profits from foreign business so large as in 1898 and 1899. By profits, I mean the excess in value of the goods sold—that is, exported—over those bought—that is, imported."

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When the country imports more than she exports, she is said to be "a loser by her foreign trade," and "all the great nations of the earth," with the exception of Russia and the United States, are declared to suffer enormous "losses" by importing more than they export. True, an occasional writer recognizes that our excess of exports is offset, to some extent at least, by invisible items of international indebtedness; while sometimes it is realized that the unfavorable balances of older countries mean cheaper food and raw materials for the people, and represent also the return upon foreign investments of capital or the earnings of merchant marines. But the revival of mercantilist theories is sufficiently marked to deserve recognition as a general tendency in the thought of the day.

II.

With this general subject of international trade, it is notoriously true that the average man does not look with great favor upon reasoning based upon principles of a general and abstract character; while immediate results or events lying upon the surface of things create a far more powerful impression than the ultimate consequences of underlying forces. For this reason, the attention of the reader is now invited to a survey of the foreign exchanges of the United States during the years that have elapsed since the establishment of American independence. By such a study of simple historical facts, it may be possible to enforce more successfully than in any other manner some elementary truths concerning the real significance of the balance of trade.

A preliminary word is necessary regarding the sources of information. Statistics of international commerce always contain an element of error, and this is especially true of the only data available for the early decades of our national existence. Prior to 1821 imports admitted free of duty were not reported at all, and the rest were not valued in a satisfactory manner; while the valuation of exports did not receive sufficient attention from the customs authorities. The statistics now accepted as official for this period were made up in 1835. Beginning in 1821, the Annual Reports on Commerce and Navigation were published with greater or less regularity, and there has probably been a constant improvement in the character of our commercial statistics. For many of the items, other than exports or imports of

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merchandise, that contribute to the international dealings of the United States, no official data are obtainable, and we are compelled to rely upon mere estimates that sometimes have a decidedly conjectural character. Precise computation, therefore, is impossible. The most that can be done is to demonstrate what the general tendencies have been in each epoch investigated.

(A.) The first period that we shall study extended from 1789 to 1820. It witnessed a rapid growth of our commerce up to the year 1807, when such events as the Embargo, Non-Intercourse Acts, and the War of 1812 affected all industry most injuriously. After the restoration of peace in 1815, a period of wild speculation, fostered by an inflation of the currency, encouraged large importations of foreign products. These were viewed as a sign of prosperity while the "boom" lasted, but were styled an inundation of European goods as soon as the speculative fever abated. The reaction, however, lowered prices and checked the flow of imports, which decreased automatically from $147,000,000 in 1816 to $74,000,000 in 1820.

For the entire period of thirty-one years, the estimated imports of merchandise and specie amounted to $2,350,000,000, while exports were placed at $1,839,000,000, an "unfavorable" balance of $511,000,000. Nor was this our only item of international indebtedness. Foreign capital was largely represented in the debt of the federal government, and had been invested in the stocks of the first Bank of the United States and in other enterprises. For interest on all such investments we owed, for the entire period, a sum that is estimated at $200,000,000 or more. But the amount due for the excess of imports and the interest on foreign capital had been balanced readily by the earnings of our merchant marine. The tonnage of the ships registered for the foreign trade amounted for the entire period to 20,000,000 tons engaged in traffic for one year. One estimate places the "balancing power," or international earnings, of our shipping at $20,000,000 annually from 1789 to 1815; and another reckons the earnings at $800,000,000 for the period now under consideration. The neutral position of the United States during the wars that engaged the attention of Europe for so many years had enabled American vessels to carry the larger part of our exports and imports, besides earning large sums in trade between different foreign ports. By this means, therefore, we had

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paid our international indebtedness, and had been enabled probably to import a considerable net balance of gold and silver.* So far, then, from the country being drained of its money in payment for the balance of imported merchandise, the banks held not less than $20,000,000 of specie in the year 1820; while Gallatin and Crawford estimated that there had never been more hard cash in circulation.

The situation was analyzed correctly by Timothy Pitkin in 1817. He showed that a cargo of flour shipped to Spain in an American vessel would be valued at $47,500 at domestic prices, and would figure at this amount in the returns of our exports. If the flour were sold in Spain at the usual advance necessary to cover freight, insurance, commissions, and a fair profit, it might command as much as $75,000. Then, if the proceeds from the sale were invested in a return cargo that would be valued at our custom houses according to the prescribed methods, the final result of the voyage would be the importation of commodities that exceeded very greatly the value of the original exports. Therefore, he contended that, if the imports had not shown an excess, our ships would have incurred a loss on their voyages.

(B.) From 1821 to 1830, our commerce showed no material increase over the first period. For this decade, imports of merchandise aggregated $729,000,000 and exports were placed at $694,000,000, an "unfavorable" balance of $35,000,000, which was slightly reduced by a net exportation of $2,400,000 in specie. The indebtedness of the country was increased still further by whatever sums were due to foreign investors. Although the United States was reducing its public debt and returning considerable amounts of capital to foreign owners, the States had begun to contract debts, and borrowed during the decade $26,469,000. We may assume, therefore, that the sums returned to foreigners by the federal government were reinvested in State securities, and that the annual interest charge against the country remained nearly stationary. Moreover, Americans were beginning to indulge more extensively in foreign travel, so that a new item of indebtedness affected the exchanges. The sums expended by our travellers, however, were offset in part by the money brought here by immigrants, who numbered 150,000 during the decade.

*The balance of $511,000,000 due on the excess of imports does not show the facts regarding the movement of specie, since the estimates do not separate the two items of merchandise and specie prior to 1821.

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Whatever the indebtedness of the country may have been on these various accounts, the earnings of our merchant marine sufficed to pay it, and to turn the exchanges in favor of the United States at the close of the period. After 1821, we have statistics showing the amounts of exports and imports carried in American and in foreign vessels. From this time, the net result of the carrying trade can be computed upon the following basis. Since American consumers must bear the expense of bringing merchandise to this country, the freight charges on goods brought in foreign vessels will be reckoned as an element in our international indebtedness; while the sums earned by American vessels in the import trade will be considered to have no effect upon the foreign exchanges. Similarly, with our exports, we shall estimate that other countries are indebted to the United States for freights on goods carried in American vessels, and that cargoes shipped in foreign bottoms may be omitted from our computations. Estimates of the probable proportion between freight charges and the values of the products carried range from ten to fifteen per cent. We may, therefore, place the cost of ocean carriage at twelve and a half per cent.; and this estimate may continue to be used until, for recent decades, it becomes possible to replace it by a better one.

From 1821 to 1830, exports carried in American vessels aggregated $666,090,000, on which the freight charges would be about $83,000,000; while imports brought in foreign bottoms were placed at slightly more than $51,000,000, which would be subject to a charge of something more than $6,000,000. Thus, our merchant marine earned from foreign countries about $77,000,000, which would be somewhat increased by the profits from carrying goods between foreign ports. Again, therefore, our ships earned enough to balance the indebtedness incurred on other accounts; and, in 1829 and 1830, the net imports of specie amounted to $8,400,000, while foreign exchange was quoted in favor of the United States.

(C.) The third period extends from 1831 to 1840. For the first six or seven years the country was engaged in an extraordinary speculative movement, which was followed by the inevitable reaction and business depression. Population advanced at a rapid rate, immigration became very large, and sales of public lands increased greatly. The State banks were enabled to ex-

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pand their note issues from $61,000,000 in 1830 to $103,000,000 in 1835, the notes being used in payment for the lands occupied by settlers. Then, in 1836, the federal government distributed $28,000,000 of surplus revenue among the States, this money finding its way into the banks, which increased their issues to $149,000,000 by the year 1837. Such an inflation of the currency raised prices and invited large importations of merchandise. Thus, our imports rose from $62,720,000 in 1830 to $176,579,000 in 1836; while exports increased much less rapidly. When the speculative mania ended in the crisis of 1837, imports immediately decreased; but, for the entire decade, importations of merchandise exceeded exports by $159,700,000.

More than this, the movement of specie showed for the ten years an excess of imports amounting to $50,650,000; so that on these two accounts the balance of importations was not less than $210,000,000. This sum was far larger than the earnings of our merchant marine, which amounted to $90,000,000. How shall we account for the unsettled balance of $120,000,000?

The explanation is found in the large investments of European capital that were placed in the United States during this period. Between 1830 and 1838, various States that had undertaken internal improvements created debts amounting to $147,835,000. For this purpose, bonds were sold in other countries, and foreigners became indebted to America for the principal of the loans. Two circumstances, however, contributed to reduce the claims which the country held against foreigners on this account. The debt of the federal government, which amounted to $39,123,000 in 1831, had been paid in full by the year 1835; and a considerable part of these securities had been owned in Europe. As a result, foreign investors had been able to purchase some of the State bonds by the simple reinvestment of funds already standing to their credit in the United States. In the second place, no small amount of interest had accrued upon federal and State securities during the decade, and this item may have amounted to thirty or forty millions.* Foreign investors, therefore, owed the United States $147,835,000, less that part of the principal of the federal debt, and of the interest accruing upon all securities, for which this country was indebted

*Lest this estimate should appear too small, it will be well to add that, of the $147,835,000 invested in state bonds, $107,823,000 was placed in this country after 1835.

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to European capitalists. After making such deductions, it is evident that our large imports of merchandise and specie had been made necessary by the movement of foreign capital toward the United States.

(D.) The next decade opened with two or three years of continued depression, but conditions improved after 1844, and subsequently the foreign commerce of the country began to show a decided increase. In 1847, the exchanges were affected greatly by the famine that followed the failure of the potato crop in Ireland. This event caused a remarkable increase in our exports of breadstuffs, which rose from $7,445,000 in 1845 to $53,262,000 in 1847. The result was that our exports of merchandise exceeded imports, in the year last mentioned, by $34,317,000. Such a sudden disturbance of trade caused a net importation of specie amounting to $22,214,000. This large inflow of money altered the condition of the exchanges; so that, in 1848, imports increased by $26,000,000, while exports declined more than $18,000,000, and a balance of $9,481,000 of specie was exported.

From 1841 to 1850 the imports of merchandise aggregated $1,180,000,000, and exports were estimated at $1,195,000,000. Thus a small balance of something less than $15,000,000 stood to the credit of the United States. At the same time, imports of gold and silver had exceeded exports by $21,830,000; so that the movements of merchandise and specie had reached approximately a condition of equilibrium. From this fact, one would infer that the invisible items of exchange must show a similar balance. Now, what are the facts?

The panic of 1837 had checked the growth of State debts. In 1841, the aggregate indebtedness of the State and local governments was not much more than $216,000,000. When the States retired from industrial undertakings, the field was left open for business corporations, which constantly increased in number, and began to find in Europe a market for a part of their securities. Thus investments of foreign capital, which were estimated at $200,000,000 in 1840, were supposed to amount to $261,000,000 in 1853. For the decade they may have averaged $225,000,000, upon which the aggregate interest charges would amount to $135,000,000.

But this debt to holders of American securities was diminished by the $40,000,000 or $50,000,000 of new capital that

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sought investment in this country; so that our foreign indebtedness on this account was $85,000,000 or $95,000,000.

Upon the other hand, our merchant marine carried away from our shores exports that exceeded by $690,000,000 the imports that were brought to this country in foreign vessels. Therefore, on account of ocean freights, the United States was entitled to a credit of $86,000,000, which would balance approximately the interest due to foreign holders of American securities. Cargoes carried by our ships between foreign ports increased the earnings of the merchant marine; and were sufficient, perhaps, to balance any foreign outlays occasioned by the operations of our army during the Mexican War. Since specie exports exceeded imports in 1850 and 1851, we may conclude that some debts remained unadjusted at the close of this period.

(E.) In the ensuing decade our foreign commerce increased nearly 125 per cent. over the figures for any previous period of equal length, and merchandise imports exceeded exports by $355,800,000.

Passing over, for the moment, the movement of specie, we find that State and local debts increased by $100,000,000 during the decade; while 21,000 miles of railroad were constructed, for which large amounts of iron rails were imported in exchange for newly issued securities. Foreign investments may have amounted to some $300,000,000 or $350,000,000, upon an average; but it is difficult to secure any satisfactory estimates. The annual interest charges may have been some $18,000,000 to $21,000,000, and, if we deduct $80,000,000 for new investments, we may place the debt due to foreign capitalists at from $100,000,000 to $130,000,000 for the decade. Thus, the United States was a debtor for $355,000,000 of imported merchandise, for $100,000,000 to $130,000,000 on interest charges, and, perhaps, for an unsettled balance from the year 1850.

To meet these claims, the profits of the merchant marine proved wholly inadequate. The net earnings of our ships amounted to no more than $158,000,000. Evidently, some new cause had been operating to disturb the exchanges, and to increase our obligations beyond the point where the earnings of our ships could establish an equilibrium.

We must now return to the movement of gold and silver. Upon the opening of the California mines, our domestic gold

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output suddenly rose, from insignificant proportions, to $50,000,000 in 1850; and subsequent years showed a still larger product, which was several times as great as the amount secured annually from all countries of the world prior to 1845. From 1851 to 1860, the aggregate production of gold in the United States equalled $550,000,000, and this was five or six times the estimated specie circulation of the country in any year before the discoveries in California. The money in circulation in 1850, including bank notes as well as specie, was no more than $285,000,000, or about $12 *per capita.* If the new gold could have been retained in the country, our circulating medium would have risen to $835,000,000 for the year 1860, or $26.60 *per capita.* Such a sudden inflation as this would have raised prices far above the level prevailing in other parts of the world, put an end to the exportation of many products, and attracted imports from all quarters of the globe. Therefore, the new gold began to flow out of the country, after prices had been raised to a point at which the import trade could increase sufficiently to produce this result; and, from 1851 to 1860, we exported a net balance of $417,608,000. By 1860, our specie circulation had risen to $235,000,000, an increase of $81,000,000 in ten years; while the issues of bank notes had grown to $207,000,000, giving the country a supply of money that averaged $14.06 *per capita.* The United States had become one of the leading gold producing regions, and the course of the exchanges was inevitably altered.

(F.) Even more instructive was the period that extended from 1861 to 1873. The fiscal year 1860 had been marked by great prosperity, and both exports and imports were larger than at any former time. But the Civil War wrought havoc with our foreign trade, which, in the space of two years, shrank to little more than one-half of the proportions reached in 1860. Especially marked was the decline in our exports of cotton, which decreased from $191,800,000 in 1860 to an average of $11,700,000 from 1861 to 1865. But in 1863 the volume of foreign trade began to increase; and, after the restoration of peace, the expansion was very rapid.

In 1862, the federal government began to issue inconvertible paper, which produced an inflation of the currency, raising prices and intensifying the speculative movement naturally induced by the enormous public expenditures for military purposes. The inevitable result was a large increase of merchandise imports, which

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rose from $243,000,000 in 1863 to $642,000,000 ten years later. While it is true, as Cairnes contended, that high prices in inconvertible paper would not tend to favor the growth of imports, because foreigners did not exchange commodities for depreciated greenbacks but received payment in gold, it is certain, also, that the speculative mania had raised gold prices somewhat above the level prevailing in other countries, so that the inflow of commodities was greatly stimulated. For the thirteen years ending in 1873, imports of merchandise aggregated $5,107,000,000, while exports were placed at $3,952,000,000, a balance of nearly $1,155,000,000 against this country.

But this was not the only account which foreigners held against the United States. Our merchant marine had suffered irreparable damage from the ravages of the Confederate cruisers, and the proportion of our foreign trade carried in American vessels had greatly decreased. For this entire period the imports brought to our shores in foreign ships exceeded the exports carried in our own vessels by $1,500,000,000. This gave rise to a debt of $187,500,000. For the first time in our history, we were indebted to foreigners on account of the carrying trade; and the aggregate of our obligations for merchandise and freight amounted to $1,342,000,000.* Moreover, it was estimated by David A. Wells, in 1869, that American travellers were then spending $25,000,000 annually in foreign countries, and the money brought here by immigrants could not have counterbalanced such an outlay. But there were other international transactions that restored the exchanges to an equilibrium.

In the first place, the net exports of specie during the thirteen years had amounted to no less than $677,822,000, this sum representing nearly nine-tenths of the output of our mines at this period. The rest of our foreign indebtedness was settled by the flow of European capital into the United States. From 1861 to 1863, there seem to have been large withdrawals of foreign investments on account of the disturbed conditions caused by the war; but, during the next ten years, the movement of capital turned in the other direction. The federal government had incurred an interest-bearing debt of $2,381,000,000, State and local indebtedness had increased by some $500,000,000, while 39,642

*The sum due for freight should, however, be considerably reduced; because many American vessels had been registered under foreign flags, and the earnings of such ships should not be credited to foreign account.

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miles of railways had been constructed. Foreign investors were attracted by the securities issued for these purposes.

In 1868, Secretary McCulloch estimated the foreign investments at $850,000,000, exclusive of railway stocks. The following year, Mr. Wells computed that $1,100,000,000 of federal and local securities were held in other countries, while $365,000,000 of European capital had been placed in railway and other enterprises. Even if this estimate was too large in 1869, we may be certain that not less than $1,500,000,000 of foreign investments had been made by 1873; because the inflow of capital had been very rapid during the interval, amounting to $100,000,000 for the first eight months of the latter year. Now, if we place the withdrawals of the years 1861 and 1862 at $200,000,000, it may be considered that foreign capitalists were indebted to the United States for $1,300,000,000 on account of the principal of new investments. This debt would be decreased by the interest charges that had accrued prior to 1873, but the precise amount of this allowance cannot be determined. Remembering, however, that most of the capital came to the country after 1863 and that the interest was stated at $88,000,000 in 1869, we may estimate it as equivalent to some $80,000,000 annually for a period of six years. Thus, the aggregate indebtedness of foreign investors would be reduced to about $820,000,000. This was the item, therefore, which, in addition to the $677,000,000 of specie exports, furnished the means of settling the enormous balance due on merchandise, freights, and travellers' expenses.

Manifestly, such a condition of the exchanges could not continue. Even if nothing had occurred to check the inflow of foreign capital, the growing interest charges would have exceeded ultimately the annual investment of principal. In 1869, Mr. Wells had prophesied that exports of merchandise must increase, sooner or later, in order to pay for the interest accruing to European capitalists. More explicitly still, in 1873, Professor Cairnes wrote:

"These considerations lead me to the conclusion, that the present condition of the external trade of the United States is essentially abnormal and temporary. If that country is to continue to discharge her liabilities to foreigners, the relation which at present obtains between exports and imports in her external trade must be inverted. * * * This, it seems to me, is a result which may be predicted with the utmost confidence. The end may be reached by an extension of

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exportation, or by a curtailment of importation, or by combining both these processes, but by one means or the other reached it will need to be."

Proceeding a step further, Cairnes showed that the excess of exports over imports could not be established unless the high prices then ruling in this country should be materially lowered, or prices in Europe should show a considerable advance; and he considered it probable that the change would come about by a fall of prices in the United States sufficient to make importation more difficult and exportation more profitable. Such a decline of the price level would probably "come with a crash," so that he looked forward "to the immediate future of American trade as a period of much disturbance and fluctuation, culminating, it is possible, from time to time, in commercial crises." Before his book appeared, these prophecies were in course of literal fulfillment.

(G.) The last period extends from 1874 to 1896, subsequent years being reserved for discussion in our final paragraphs. In September, 1873, the whole fabric of ten years' speculation utterly collapsed, while prices fell to a point at which imports must decrease and exports could expand. In 1874, for the first time in twelve years, exports of merchandise exceeded imports; and this condition was maintained in eighteen out of the next twenty-two years. By the close of the fiscal year 1896, the exports for the entire period stood at $17,479,000,000, while imports were placed at $15,190,000,000, a "favorable" balance of $2,289,000,000. In addition to this, exports of specie showed an excess of $529,000,000 over imports; so that the United States was entitled to a total credit of $2,818,000,000. This meant simply that the country had assumed its normal position as a debtor nation on the various items of invisible exchanges, and was paying annually something like $122,500,000 on such accounts.

In the first place we owed foreign nations for interest upon a mass of invested capital, which was not less than $1,500,000,000 in 1874, and increased to some $2,000,000,000 before the close of this period. The rate of interest upon these investments decreased from six to perhaps four per cent., as the years passed, and may have averaged about five per cent. This would make the annual interest charge stand at $80,000,000 or $90,000,000 upon the average amount of capital invested; so that, for the twenty-three years, this country owed from $1,840,000,000 to $2,070,-

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000,000. But this sum would be decreased by the new investments made during the period, which aggregated $500,000,000.

Secondly, our foreign merchant marine showed a continual decline, so that imports brought in foreign vessels exceeded exports carried in American ships by $9,267,000,000. At the present time it is thought that freight charges upon imports are about ten per cent. of the value of the cargoes, while upon exports the estimated charges are as high as fifteen per cent. Upon this basis, the net earnings of foreign ships would aggregate $805,000,000. This item of indebtedness tended to increase, as the proportion of imports in American bottoms declined.

Finally, there were several kinds of debt that cannot be ascertained with much accuracy. In 1869, the annual expenditures of American travellers were placed at $25,000,000, but for recent years they have never been estimated at less than $50,000,000. Upon this account, however, a certain reduction should be made for the money brought into the country by immigrants and foreign travellers. Then, it is known that considerable amounts of real estate are owned by foreign capitalists, and that the rentals upon such property are no small item. Also, various foreign corporations, such as insurance companies, conduct a large business in this country; and their annual profits go to swell the volume of our international indebtedness. When all allowances are made for the uncertainty of the data, enough facts have been presented to account for the constant excess of exports of merchandise and specie from 1873 to 1896. At the close of the period under consideration, the invisible elements of indebtedness must have amounted to $80,000,000 interest upon $2,000,000,000 of foreign capital; $52,000,000 due to foreign ships; something less than $50,000,000 expended by American tourists; and indefinite sums that must have carried the debt up to $200,000,000 per annum.

III.

From this survey of the progress of American commerce, certain important conclusions may be drawn concerning the theory of the balance of trade.

(1.) Exports and imports of merchandise may throw no light upon the movement of specie, so that a favorable balance may not result in an inflow of gold or an unfavorable balance cause an outflow. From 1831 to 1840, merchandise imports exceeded ex-

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ports by $159,900,000, while the net imports of specie amounted to $50,650,000. On the other hand, from 1873 to 1896, a favorable balance of trade amounting to $2,289,000,000 was accompanied by a net exportation of $529,000,000 in specie.

(2.) Many items that are not included in the customs statistics enter into the determination of the foreign exchanges; and, over a period of years, all these elements regulate themselves in such a manner that the total credits of a nation equal the aggregate of the accounts upon which it stands a debtor.

(3.) Whether imports shall exceed exports or exports rise above imports, depends wholly upon the position of the country as a producer of precious metals, or as a debtor or creditor on account of the movements of capital, of the carrying trade, of foreign travel, and the like. If capital is seeking investment in a new country, as was the case in the United States from 1831 to 1837 and from 1863 to 1873, imports must exceed exports; and this condition will be desirable or undesirable according to the advantages or disadvantages of the situation that invites foreign investments. When the inflow of capital ceases, exports must be sent to pay for the interest that accrues each year; and a favorable balance of trade caused in this way will point simply to the fact that the country is able to pay its debts, and will not indicate a peculiarly profitable condition of trade. If a country engages extensively in ocean carrying, imports of commodities will tend to exceed exports; and the unfavorable balance will be the measure of the profits derived from the merchant marine. Finally, in a country that mines an unusual quantity of the precious metals, gold and silver will be exported constantly to other nations where they are less abundant; and this will force larger imports of commodities. This was the condition produced by the Californian discoveries, and it continued until our growing indebtedness to foreign capitalists and ship-owners exceeded the annual product of our mines and caused an enormous excess of exports after 1874.

(4.) In all cases, the precious metals are used chiefly to pay balances, and they form but a very small element in the international exchanges. From 1821 to 1896, the merchandise exports and imports of the United States aggregated more than $53,000,000,000, while the entire shipments of gold and silver were less than $5,000,000,000.

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All of these conclusions could be reinforced by a study of the commerce of other countries. In general, it is the younger and poorer nations that show an excess of exports over imports, while the opposite condition prevails in older countries that possess greater accumulations of wealth. Great Britain has had an enormous "unfavorable" balance of trade for many years, and must continue to do so as long as the earnings of her merchant marine and the interest on her foreign investments remain as large as they are at the present time.

The general conclusion is, therefore, that the movements of merchandise indicate nothing more than the position which a country occupies as a debtor or a creditor upon account of the invisible exchanges that form so important an element in international transactions.

But this statement of the case is not wholly complete, and needs to receive one important qualification before it can be accepted by the practical financier. From his point of view an excess of imports or of exports is frequently a matter of great importance. Both domestic and foreign exchanges are conducted by means of a complicated system of credit, the volume of which greatly exceeds the reserves of ready money that serve as its foundation. At those seasons of the year when our exports of staple products are largest, exchange usually turns in favor of this country, and gold imports are to be expected. At other seasons, when imports of merchandise are heaviest, exchange may turn in the opposite direction and cause an outflow of gold. Such fluctuations in the exchanges have always existed, and are natural and inevitable under any system of monetary or commercial policy; but they may be important to the world of finance.

A favorable turn in the exchanges that results in a temporary inflow of gold, increases the reserves of the banks, making money plentiful and cheap in the financial centers; and such conditions are favorable to business activity. Upon the other hand, a movement of specie away from the country tends to decrease the reserves, harden the money market, and raise the discount rate. All this, however, is a matter of temporary importance if the currency of the nation is upon a thoroughly sound basis, and if the general condition of business is healthful. When gold imports lower the rate of discount, prices of merchandise and securities

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rise, and conditions are favorable for increased importations of foreign goods. Moreover, this tendency is accentuated by the concomitant fall in the rate of sterling exchange, which increases the profits that importers derive from their transactions. The result is that the tide soon turns in the opposite direction, and the inflow of gold is checked automatically. When, however, exchange rises to the point that makes gold exports necessary, discount rates are increased, prices tend toward a lower level, foreign bills drawn against exports yield a larger profit, and trade is given a counter impulse that restores the equilibrium.

But the case may be different. If business has been moving onward upon a course of mad speculation, straining to the utmost the delicate mechanism of credit, an unfavorable turn of the foreign trade may cause exports of gold at a time when specie reserves are all too small to withstand such a strain. Thus it is that panics are precipitated. If, in addition, the currency of the country is unsound, the importance of a rise in sterling exchange is greatly magnified. From 1878 to 1893, the United States was engaged in reckless experiments with its paper and silver money. The federal treasury had undertaken to circulate, at a parity with gold, a mass of debased currency the amount of which steadily increased under the operation of our laws calling for purchases of silver; while the banks, which had formerly supplied whatever specie might be needed for export, felt compelled in 1892 to draw upon the precarious gold reserve which the government endeavored to maintain. As soon as this occurred, every demand for gold needed in foreign shipments caused a drain on the slender reserve upon which the stability of our monetary system depended. Under such circumstances, an unfavorable turn of the exchanges was fraught with the direst peril.

But with these qualifications, the conclusions reached in the earlier part of our discussion will stand as correct beyond all reasonable doubt. There can be no greater error than to measure the advantages derived from the commerce of a nation by the excess of exports over imports, or to suppose that an unfavorable balance is a certain proof that the trade has become unprofitable. At the same time, a highly speculative market may well apprehend the consequences of an adverse turn in the exchanges; while a nation with an unsound monetary system will always be the sport of every fluctuation in foreign transactions. Moderation

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in business activity and the establishment of a standard of value that cannot be shaken, would rob the balance of trade of its last vestige of significance.

IV.

It remains for us to consider briefly the tendencies that have manifested themselves in our foreign commerce during the last five years. Exports have increased enormously during this period, while there has been no corresponding movement in the import trade. Nearly all branches of exports have shown a noteworthy increase; but the most remarkable phenomenon has been the expansion in the sales of domestic manufactures, which have risen from $183,595,000 in 1895 to $433,851,000 in 1900. For the four fiscal years ending June 30th, 1900, our total exports aggregated $4,903,000,000, while imports amounted to no more than $2,927,000,000, a balance of $1,976,000,000 on the side of the exports. Moreover, the returns for the first eight months of 1901 show a further excess of exports to the amount of $491,000,000.

No statistical data that have been produced offer an adequate explanation of this phenomenon. For the four fiscal years ending in June, 1900, exports had exceeded imports by $1,976,000,000; while the net importation of specie had amounted to only $94,670,000, leaving a balance of $1,881,000,000. This would be reduced by the interest due on foreign investments, which may have ranged from $80,000,000 to $100,000,000 per annum, a total of $320,000,000 to $400,000,000 for the four years. The sums paid to foreign ship-owners aggregated some $191,000,000 during this period. In recent years, the expenditures of American tourists may have risen above $50,000,000 a year, so that, for the four years under consideration, our indebtedness on this account may have equalled $250,000,000. If the other items of invisible debts averaged $25,000,000 a year, we can make a further deduction of $100,000,000. But all of these items, even if we place interest paid to foreign investors at the highest figures, would amount to no more than $941,000,000, against a balance to our credit of $1,881,000,000.

Events growing out of the Spanish War may have contributed somewhat to reduce the unsettled claims standing apparently to the credit of the United States. For about two and one-half years, we have maintained an army of some 60,000 men in the

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Philippines, and have incurred in this manner debts which have been increased by the $20,000,000 paid to Spain and by the expenditures of American warships on foreign stations. Yet with this deduction, there would remain a balance, apparently unsettled, of over $800,000,000 upon the trade of the four years.

In financial circles, two explanations have been offered to account for this extraordinary situation. In the first place, it has been suggested that the official statistics have overestimated the value of our exports. As a general thing, customs statistics undervalue both imports and exports, and this tendency is usually more marked in the case of the latter than of the former. But when domestic prices are very high, it is easy to estimate the exports at higher figures than are realized upon the actual sales in foreign markets. Yet a study of the export prices officially reported shows that our statisticians have, in most cases at any rate, valued the exports at less than domestic prices; and it would be hard to demonstrate that overvaluation has actually occurred. We know, however, that many of the trusts have sold their surplus stocks in foreign markets at prices that are very far below the charges exacted from domestic customers, and that some manufacturers not connected with combinations have done the same thing. This would make it probable that exports may have been overvalued to a certain extent.

A second explanation is that, in recent years, American money has been seeking investment abroad, while a considerable amount of foreign capital has been withdrawn from the United States. Since March, 1900, no less than $118,000,000 of British, German and Swedish securities have been sold in this country, and it is entirely possible that other investments have gone unrecorded. Concerning the alleged withdrawal of capital formerly invested in the United States, no reliable information is accessible to the writer, but leading financial authorities have declared that Wall Street has had no knowledge of such an influx of securities during the last two or three years. Upon the whole, it seems probable that this country now holds unsettled claims to a considerable amount against foreign nations. But, since it is not to be supposed that we have given away the surplus of exported commodities, our outstanding credits cannot exceed greatly the balances carried by international banking houses.

A word concerning the probable development of American

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commerce during the next decade may not be out of order. In the first place we may enquire whether conditions will remain such as to allow the enormous balance of exports to continue. There are only three forces that may operate to produce this result. If the accumulated wealth of the United States has now become so great that our investors can find better openings in other lands, as, for instance, in colonial dependencies, an excess of exports will result from the outward flow of capital, until the time is reached when the interest charges exceed the annual increment of principal. This force, therefore, will, at the most, prove to be of comparatively short duration. Another possibility is the withdrawal of foreign investments now placed in the United States, which would be a second cause of an excess of exports. This force, however, would spend itself in the course of a few years; and, moreover, the removal of uncertainty concerning our standard of value ought to lessen the motive for the withdrawal of capital. Finally, there is the chance that our new foreign policy may entail the continued support of large armies in distant parts of the globe, which would tend toward a balance of exports. But the desire for strenuous living seems, upon the whole, more likely to show an abatement than an increase; and, if this forecast proves correct, military outlays will not intensify permanently the forces making for an excess of exports over imports.

Upon the other hand, counteracting causes may develop that will contribute to reduce our annual indebtedness to foreigners on account of the invisible items of the exchanges, and eventually will make an excess of exports an impossibility. First among these influences will be the revival of our foreign carrying trade.

The flourishing condition of our merchant marine from 1790 to 1855 was mainly due to our possessing a cheap and abundant supply of ship timber. With the advent of the iron and then the steel vessel, this industry was certain to decline, so long as the American price of iron ranged above that prevailing in England. Recent years have reversed conditions in this respect, and the astonishing development of our iron and steel production will furnish shipbuilders with an opportunity which, as recent events show, they are likely to improve. To the extent by which, during the next decade, American vessels recover their share of the carrying trade, our indebtedness to foreigners upon this account will tend to decrease, and one cause for an annual excess of exports will

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be removed. A second influence will become operative if investments of American capital in other countries show, as they are likely to do, a tendency to increase. Temporarily, this movement will cause an outflow of commodities; but, sooner or later, the annual interest will be sufficient to produce an opposite tendency. So far, then, as indebtedness on account of capital is concerned, we may expect that conditions in the United States will come to resemble those which prevail in older nations which receive each year large imports of commodities that represent the earnings of invested capital. Finally, it should never be forgotten that this country furnishes a large part of the world's annual supply of gold and silver. If the interest upon our own foreign investments and the earnings of our ships ever equal or exceed the claims which are due to other countries upon these two accounts, then the product of our mines will turn the scale in favor of imports and put an end to the present excess of exports.

Upon the whole, it may be predicted that the existing condition of our foreign exchanges cannot continue for many years, and that, possibly before the present decade has passed, the relation between our import and export trades must be radically altered. This is not to say that exports must necessarily show an actual decrease, since the exchanges may be corrected by an increase of imports. But if conditions are such as to make the latter process difficult or impossible, then the former alternative will be forced upon us. Every dollar earned by foreign investments of American capital, or by a renascent merchant marine, will cancel an equal debt now owed to other nations upon these accounts, and will make it impossible to sell our present volume of exports without receiving a larger quantity of imports. The present balance of exports is due to our position as a debtor country on the many invisible accounts of the foreign exchanges; and, as we advance to the rank of a creditor nation, we must consent to receive our payment in the products that will represent the profits of our ships or of our capital.

Our recent unbounded prosperity has culminated in a speculative movement that has surpassed previous records. Unquestionably the rage of speculation has exceeded all reasonable bounds, and is likely to be followed by a reaction of equal intensity. While prudent men are even now putting their houses in order, the large number will continue their overtrading until

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the storm bursts upon them. At such a time the foreign exchanges will assume a position of great temporary significance. While various European markets have experienced for some months the reaction that is certain to be felt in this country before the accounts of recent years can finally be closed, our own prosperity has suffered no material abatement, and we are able as yet to detect no certain signs of danger. To the firm condition of our markets the recent developments of our foreign commerce have contributed most powerfully, because our international position is so strong that no slight shock could start an outflow of gold sufficient to test the strength of the gigantic fabric of speculation; and, as long as present conditions continue, our day of reckoning may be postponed. In such matters it is usually the unexpected that happens, and no one can foresee the precise course of the events that will ultimately precipitate the crisis; but of one thing we may be assured. Unless untoward domestic occurrences intervene to cause the initial shock, the next turn of the foreign exchanges will put to the severest test our highly sensitive markets, in which the substantial profits of prosperous years have been given fictitious valuations. Whenever our excess of exports falls to a point where it will not counterbalance the debts incurred on the invisible foreign transactions, we shall probably witness the end of the present era of speculation.

CHARLES J. BULLOCK.

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A POSSIBLE DIFFERENCE IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN FICTION.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

In reading Mrs. Humphry Ward's last story, "Eleanor," I felt again, as I had felt before in her work, its general difference from the best American fiction in a particular which may perhaps have caught the notice of others. If it has not, I may be mistaken in my feeling, and shall be unable to persuade others to make it their conviction. But the point is interesting, and if I can make it evident, something will have been done toward explaining American novelists to themselves, and reconciling them to their performances as the necessary outcome of their conditions. Possibly, something more will have been done, and they will be satisfied in recognizing that English breadth must always be denied them, and making the most of the depth which seems to be their characteristic when they are at their best.

I.

The deceitfulness of appearances is notorious, and even when they are the effect of reality they are seldom of such a unanimity that the inference from them cannot reasonably be questioned. You have first to get your appearances, and this alone is a thing of no small difficulty. Many appearances are so purely subjective that when you come to draw the attention of others to them, they turn out to be disappearances; and, in the case in hand, there will probably be some people to deny that English fiction is noticeably broad, or American fiction noticeably deep. They will say that Thomas Hardy and George Eliot have both written things that suggest depth as well as breadth, and that Mrs. Ward,

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who is alone among English writers worthy to be mentioned with these novelists, is so much of the American spirit in her art that, if her work is broad, it is a proof that breadth is as characteristic of American fiction as depth.

The effect is to dissatisfy you with the words themselves, as saying too much, and if, after trying "dramatic" and "epical," you return to them, you wish to explain that you employ neither invidiously, but only with the single desire to trace certain questionable appearances to certain unquestionable facts, and so render them less questionable. I confess that the effect of the breadth I have felt, or seemed to feel, in Mrs. Ward's work was such as to make me discontented with the depth that I remembered in the best American work, as if this were comparatively a defect, since it was necessarily narrower. It was only by reflecting that our depth was the inevitable implication of our civic and social conditions that I was consoled, and restored to something like a national self-respect. To put it paradoxically, our life is too large for our art to be broad. In despair at the immense variety of the material offered it by American civilization, American fiction must specialize, and turning from the superabundance of character it must burrow far down in a soul or two.

Men may invent almost anything but themselves, and it was not because Hawthorne made himself psychological, but because he was so, that in the American environment he bent his vision inward. His theory was that our life was too level and too open and too sunnily prosperous for his art, but it was an instinct far subtler than this belief that he obeyed in seeking the subliminal drama. Hawthorne was romantic, but our realists who have followed him have been of the same instinct, and have dealt mainly with the subliminal drama, too. In their books, so faithful to the effect of our every-day life, the practical concerns of it are subordinated to the psychical, not consciously, but so constantly that their subordination has not been a matter of any question. The usual incidents of fiction have not, in the best American novelists, been the prime concern, but the subliminal effect of those incidents. Love itself, which is the meat and drink of fiction, is treated less as a passional than as a psychological phenomenon. Long ago the more artistic of our novelists perceived that the important matter was not what the lovers suffered or enjoyed in getting married, or whether they got mar-

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ried at all or not, but what sort of man and maid their love found them out to be, and how, under its influence, the mutual chemistry of their natures interacted. All the problems, in any case, are incomparably simplified for the English novelist by the definite English conditions. One can no longer call them fixed; but they are still definite, and in a certain way character proceeds from them—the character of a gentleman, a business man, an artizan, a servant, a laborer. Each of these has his being in a way so different from the others, that he is a definitely different creature; and when through some chance, some perverse mixture of the elements, the conditions are traversed, and the character bred of one shows itself in another, it has a stronger relief from the alien background. But, ordinarily, the Englishman feels, thinks, and acts from his class; when you name his class you measurably state him; and you have rather to do with what he does than with what he is. The result in fiction is a multiplicity of incidents and persons; you have breadth rather than depth.

Even in so psychological a story as Mrs. Ward's "Marcella" the definite conditions account for so much that it is, after all, a study of incident more than a study of motive. The conventions of English realism, the county society and the life of the great houses, and interests and opinions of the gentry and their dependents; the hovels and the physical and moral squalor of the poor; the parliamentary election, and the agitations of the demagogues and the real reformers; the intervention of the church and the chapel; the poaching and the murder and the hanging; all these things are of the familiar acquaintance of the novel-reader, who knows them from the time of Bulwer down, through the innumerable novelists who have treated of them since. Mrs. Ward treats of them with a fresh mind, but they are in themselves so far from fresh that they seem to stale her thought of them; and the figure that she projects against them, the very novel and very original figure of Marcella, seems to acquire convention from them, and to be as hackneyed as all the rest. The result is a fiction of high order, of higher order in certain aspects than any since George Eliot's fictions, and yet having breadth rather than depth. Yet this may be an appearance and not a fact. Marcella is so essentially modern, so perfectly of the day before yesterday, that the inquiry into the soul of the socialistic esthete, the girl of good birth and good tradition, emerg-

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ing from her shady father's past, to find herself engaged to the most conscientious and noble-minded of aristocrats, but at war with all his convictions through the impassioned preferences of her earlier associations, necessarily involves psychological research which goes far if it does not go deep. She is, indeed, so interesting that one wishes the author might have had her in the sparsely settled region of an American fiction, so that we could have sat down with her in the long leisure of our social existence and divined her to the ultimate mystery of her nature. It may be that there is really no more of her than her author shows, but it seems as if, in a different environment, there might be more.

Possibly, we touch here a fundamental variance of the English and American life. In former times we Americans were accused of being curious, over-curious, of being insatiable and impertinent questioners of strangers. It may be, however, that we were not so, but that the most penetrating difference between us and the English is that they are social and we are personal. Their talk is of incidents; ours of interests. Their denser life, we will say, satisfies them with superficial contrasts, while in our thinner and more homogeneous society the contrasts that satisfy are subliminal. This theory would account for their breadth and our depth without mortifying the self-love of either, which I should like to spare in our case if not in theirs.

Our personality is the consequence of our historic sparsity, and it survives beyond its time because the nature of our contiguity is still such as to fix a man's mind strongly upon himself, and to render him restless till he has ascertained how far all other men are like him. We are prodigiously homogeneous, though in the absence of classification we seem so chaotic. We shall change, probably, and then the character of our fiction, our art of representing life, will change, too. Very likely, it will become more superficial and less subliminal; it will lose in depth as it gains in breadth. As yet, its attempts to be broad, to be society fiction, have resulted in a shallowness which is not suggestive of breadth.

II.

The English are less apt than we have been to carry a story abroad, and to find in an alien setting terms more favorable than those of home for the subliminal interests. This may be because they inevitably carry their civilization with them in all possible

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details down to the emblematic bath-tub, while we find that we can get on abroad fairly well without steam heat and exposed plumbing, and the American order which they stand for. We are, in fact, far more easily detachable from our native background, and blend far more readily with the alien atmosphere, than the English, so that I think if an American family as nearly as possible corresponding to the Manisties had been set down in the air of Rome, they would have lost their native outline more. The thing is hard to say, and perhaps I shall come as near to suggesting it as may be in noting the impression that the cosmopolitan Englishman gives, of being more English than if he had never left home; whereas, the cosmopolitan American really ceases to be American even if he does not become anything else.

Of course, my position can be assailed by saying that there could not be any such American family as the Manisties, who are distinctively and inalienably English, and are of that world which, whether it is really great or not, makes ours seem a small world. Manisty has had to do all his life with questions which affect politically, socially, and spiritually the civilization of many races, systems, languages, and religions, as no American public man can have to do with them; and Eleanor Burgoyne, through the English traditions which admit women to the discussion of such questions, is of a range of thinking and feeling possible to no American woman, except some one who has given up society and gone in for a public life through the advocacy of a great interest, like temperance or the suffrage for women. I allow that all this is true, without allowing all its implications; and in the meantime I fall back to my original position, and invite the reader again to consider whether the fact does not make for that breadth in English fiction which I began by imagining. We will suppose that the author, for the sake of getting her main group of people face to face with each other, and keeping them to their psychological problem, wishes to isolate them from the alliances and relations of their past, and therefore takes them into an alien environment. Almost immediately it proves that she has not isolated the English Manisty and Eleanor, but only the American girl, Lucy Foster. With the others, questions of European policy at once come in, and distract their attention from the psychological problem; to Lucy alone these questions are without vital interest, if not without reality. Priests, diplomats, peasants,

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artists, citizens, society figures come and go in her consciousness, with the effect of deepening it inward in the great question whether she is doing wrong in letting Manisty love her, or letting herself love him, when she feels or knows that Eleanor loves him.

If the situation had been invented by an American novelist, I think he would have studied it mainly through the consciousness of Lucy, and the prime interest of the story would have been personal, psychological, subliminal. The effect would have been depth; and I do not mean this in any bragging way. Now, the main effect is breadth, which, certainly, I could not mean derogatorily. It is indifferent to me, for the present inquiry, whether the American or the English effect is better; and I wish to note, without disparagement of Mrs. Ward's work, that Mr. Hardy gets depth by dealing with persons who are unconventionally circumstanced, or wholly out of society. For much the same reason, the author of the remarkable "Mark Rutherford" books is able to get it.

Is it true, then, that the Americans get it because their characters are unconventionally circumstanced, or are not in society? Something very like this might be true; and American fiction is faithfuller to the average American conditions than if it dealt with people conventionally circumstanced and in society, for most of us are certainly not so, as most equally educated Englishmen certainly are so. We have the forms; the social structure is the same with us; but having built our house and furnished it, we find it a bother, and would rather live at a hotel.

Still better, we like to travel, to journey and sojourn in far countries, and amidst the outer strangeness to get more intimately at our inner selves. If we are novelists, we like to take our characters abroad, as if the home sparsity were not enough, and in the resulting isolation, to penetrate the last recesses of their mystery, or at least learn that it is not penetrable. More than one piece of our sublety in this sort could be alleged, but perhaps it is sufficient to allege two, of which what I am saying seems eminently true, namely, "The Marble Faun," and "Daisy Miller." If an English novelist does the same thing, the result is not the same; the English environment is inalienable; the characters are continually frittering themselves away in superficial encounter on the native terms, at dinners, and luncheons, and teas, till there is nothing subliminal left in them.

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III.

One great objection to words is, that they are always oversaying things; and I could easily take up the foregoing postulate and show it untenably excessive. Nevertheless, I think it has some truth in it, and I feel concerning Eleanor Burgoyne, that she is not enough alone for the evolution of her innermost self. She is always in a clutter of society, which is right enough, since she is of that English world so cluttered, to our elbow-roomy American sense, as we view it afar or anear; even in her withdrawals from it in pain or in passion, the atmosphere of drawing-rooms seems to envelop her. It is her native air, and one cannot complain, though one feels that a final knowledge of what she might otherwise have been to the reader must be postponed to a future life. What she could be in this, hampered by the perpetual coming and going, and meeting and parting, is a most generously imagined personality. In fact, Mrs. Ward is so good at imagining heroines of noble nature that she ought to be the favorite novelist of her sex, which loves to have its magnanimity recognized; I will not say flattered. The wife of David Grieve, in the novel of his name, is one of these great creatures, and worthily the heroine of what I am not going rashly to call the author's best book, though I should not dispute such a verdict from another. I think it was contrived that the reader should meet her on a more subliminal level than most other English heroines, and this was perhaps so because she was of a social world almost as uncrowded as our own; and perhaps also because there is something much more analogous to the American in the Scotch nature than in the English. I am writing without the book, but after the five years which have passed since I read that powerful story, she is still present in a sort of tender sublimity, as the fit type of the sacred love whose flame purifies David Grieve's soul of all but the record of his profaner passion.

So much may be expected and exacted of the type of heroine which Mrs. Ward imagines, that the noble goodness of Marcella Maxwell, when she reappears in the story of "Sir George Tressady," can have force not only to regenerate the feeling of Sir George toward herself and transform it to an exalted friendship, but also to turn the jealousy of Lady Tressady to some such complexion. Can such things be? one asks one's self, and then is ashamed of one's self for asking, for doubting. Yet, Lady Tres-

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sady, in her prettiness and pettiness, her vanity and vulgarity, has the superior probability, and is—I am tempted to say it—more profoundly divined than Marcella. In fact, Marcella loses probability in her second avatar, as socialistic wife to a socializing prime minister. In the scheme of "Sir George Tressady," the ideal beauty of soul so courageously imagined for her scarcely recompenses the reader for this loss, though he must honor the courage. Her apparition to Tressady, crushed and dying in the coal mine, is not of the convincing supernaturalism to which Tourguénieff and Tolstoy have sometimes carried their naturalism; and her personal beauty, which is so constantly insisted upon, seems at each insistence less impressive. At the risk of being insufferably paradoxical, I should say that Marcella was left less appreciable by being left too little a mystery, and that, in being altogether removed from the vague, she is rendered impalpable to those perceptions which realize personalities. To put it still more perversely, we meet her too often to know her thoroughly. We know little, light, hard Letty Tressady far better; we have a sense of her; she is the more convincing because, to the very last, we are no more convinced than she is that she is not still jealous of her husband with respect to Marcella, though she is no longer jealous of Marcella with respect to her husband. She has forgiven but she has not forgotten, and she remains with the reader in the luminous question whether she will like being commended to the care of Marcella and Lord Maxwell by her dying husband.

In suggesting such a question, the author evinces psychological depth, and in questions equally incapable of final answer in the case of both the wife and the mistress in "David Grieve," I find proof of a depth in that novel beyond that of any other of Mrs. Ward's books. The wife's relation to David's past amour remains full of satisfying mystery; and the feeling of the French girl who forsakes him for her art, and escapes in terror from her love of him, is something that seems to penetrate the very sources of her nature.

IV.

Of course, I am aware of proving too much, but if I am getting at the truth, I do not much mind being inconsistent, or even finding myself wrong. If my thesis is that Mrs. Ward, when her fiction deals with the more crowded scenes of English life,

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loses depth, and when it deals with a sparser environment gains depth, perhaps I shall not find myself so very wrong, after all. I should still have to ask myself how far she had sought such an environment in laying the scene of her last novel in Italy, and in giving her English heroine the relief of an alien setting; how far such a motive was subconscious with her, and how far she had failed to give it effect.

I have already intimated my sense of her comparative failure, and as for the subconscious motive, that is something that I know of no critical subtlety competent to render evident. The question which remains is, in what degree the inevitable spread of the story has superficialized the heroine's character, or perhaps the impression of her character.

What one has to do, in any case, is to recognize the courageous originality with which Eleanor Burgoyne is imagined. She has been married to a sufficiently unlovable and unloving husband, whose delirious suicide has involved the death of their little son. She struggles up from her crushing sorrow, and in making herself useful to her cousin Manisty as his secretary and counsellor in his work, she finds not respite from her grief so much as the chance of new happiness in the hope of his love. But she loves him too well and unwisely to be his unsparing critic; and when the unformed American girl, Lucy Foster, comes into their family circle, and from the fearlessness of her absolute sincerity censures where Eleanor has not the heart to censure, Eleanor has the anguish of seeing the man's fancy veer toward the girl as one of greater authority. Lucy is beautiful, and Eleanor, in the first days, has devoted her taste and knowledge to making her more evidently beautiful. The feeling that she has toward her is not jealousy, or else it is a jealousy so sublimed by her noble nature that it is rather a recognition of the facts than a resentment of them. She weakens, indeed, so far as to put the case to Lucy and ask her to give Manisty up to the love which has earned him, but not won him; and the girl consents. But both their wills are crushed in Manisty's, when he makes it *plain that his love has nothing to do with justice, and that he* wants what he wants, not because it is best or impersonally right, but because he wants it. This is the way of true love, which we are always exalting as the finest thing in the world, though there are obviously many things finer. It is, at least, honest and sin-

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cere, and that is what Eleanor Burgoyne owns in her acquiescence with fate, when she renders Lucy up to her inevitable happiness, if it is happiness to marry Manisty. That the woman should ask the girl to forego her happiness is a daring supposition in which we must acknowledge the author's high esthetic courage, and perhaps the frankness which is almost brutal in Eleanor's despair is truer than any fineness would have been. The contrast of the two lives in that scene, the woman's experience and the girl's innocence, is more valuable than the contrast even of their natures; but possibly in this also the author's work lends itself to my theory of greater breadth and less depth in the English novel as compared with the American. Nothing of subconscious, of subliminal, is left to the reader's conjecture; but I do not at all mean that character is rendered superficial by bringing everything in it to the surface. I am far too fond of the plain light of day for that; but still, it may be so contrived that the plain light of day may strike to the nethermost abysses, and that what is most intricate and most recondite in the soul may be rendered luminously apparent at its proper depth.

V.

The personality and the dramatic office of Eleanor are greatly imagined, and they remain essentially unaffected by the handling. You get the meaning of her tragedy and the innermost meaning, which is perhaps less poignant than it might be if it were relieved by comedy. Mrs. Ward is serious, and, no doubt, in this she has her strongest hold upon her vast public. Through the absence of humor, Mrs. Ward is a little lower, if one chooses to think so, than that great woman novelist whose level she more nearly reaches than any of her successors. You cannot quite name her in the same breath with George Eliot; but you can name her in the next breath; and it is to be questioned if even George Eliot had a wider and stronger grasp of the important actualities of English life. In "Eleanor" one must acknowledge that increasing mastery of which each of her successive books has given proofs. She has risen to her present eminence so wholly since American fiction began to shape itself from the art of Continental fiction, that one might almost claim an American influence in her work; but that might well be claiming too much. Her manner is still marked by the ejaculatory and suspiratory self-indul-

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gence of the minor English novelists, to which George Eliot herself was not superior. She draws her breath in open pathos, and she caresses a situation or a character with a pitying epithet or adjective, as George Eliot does in the case of some heroine she likes very much, notably Maggie Tulliver, or Janet Dempster, and less notably Dorothea Brooke. The foible is characteristic of all but the finest artists in English fiction, and in her greater moments Mrs. Ward does not indulge it. There is nothing of this weak pity of her own creations in such a scene as that where Eleanor reverses her prayer to Lucy Foster, and, baring her wasted neck to show herself a dying woman, makes the girl promise to be true to the love between her and Manisty. The most touching moment of the whole story, that when she asks Manisty to carry her up the stairs, is of an intense pathos, enfeebled by no suggestion of feeling in the author. "Eleanor, with her hand on Marie's arm, tottered across the court-yard. At the convent door her strength failed her. She turned to Manisty: 'I can't walk up those stairs. Do you think you could carry me? I am very light.' Struck with sudden emotion, he threw his arms round her. She yielded like a tired child. He, who had instinctively prepared himself for a certain weight, was aghast at the ease with which he lifted her. Her head, in its pretty black hat, fell against his breast. Her eyes closed. He wondered if she had fainted. He carried her to her own room and laid her on the sofa there. . . . As he left the room Eleanor settled down happily on her pillow. 'The first and only time!' she thought. 'My heart on his—my arms round his neck. There must be impressions that outlast all others. I shall manage to put them all away at the end—but that!'"

Such a passage (and it is by no means the only passage of its kind in the book) is of a fineness so penetrating, so far-reaching, that a critic more enamored of his thesis than I, might own it a proof of the contrary. If he had been arguing that English fiction had breadth but wanted depth, he might urge that it was one of the exceptions which proved the rule. But I prefer to save myself by a little different means, and referring to a suggestion already made somewhat faint-heartedly, I would leave the reader to say whether, in such an instance, Mrs. Ward was not rather like the American than the English novelists.

W. D. Howells.

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